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The America We Seek—A Moral Manifesto

NATIONAL REVIEW

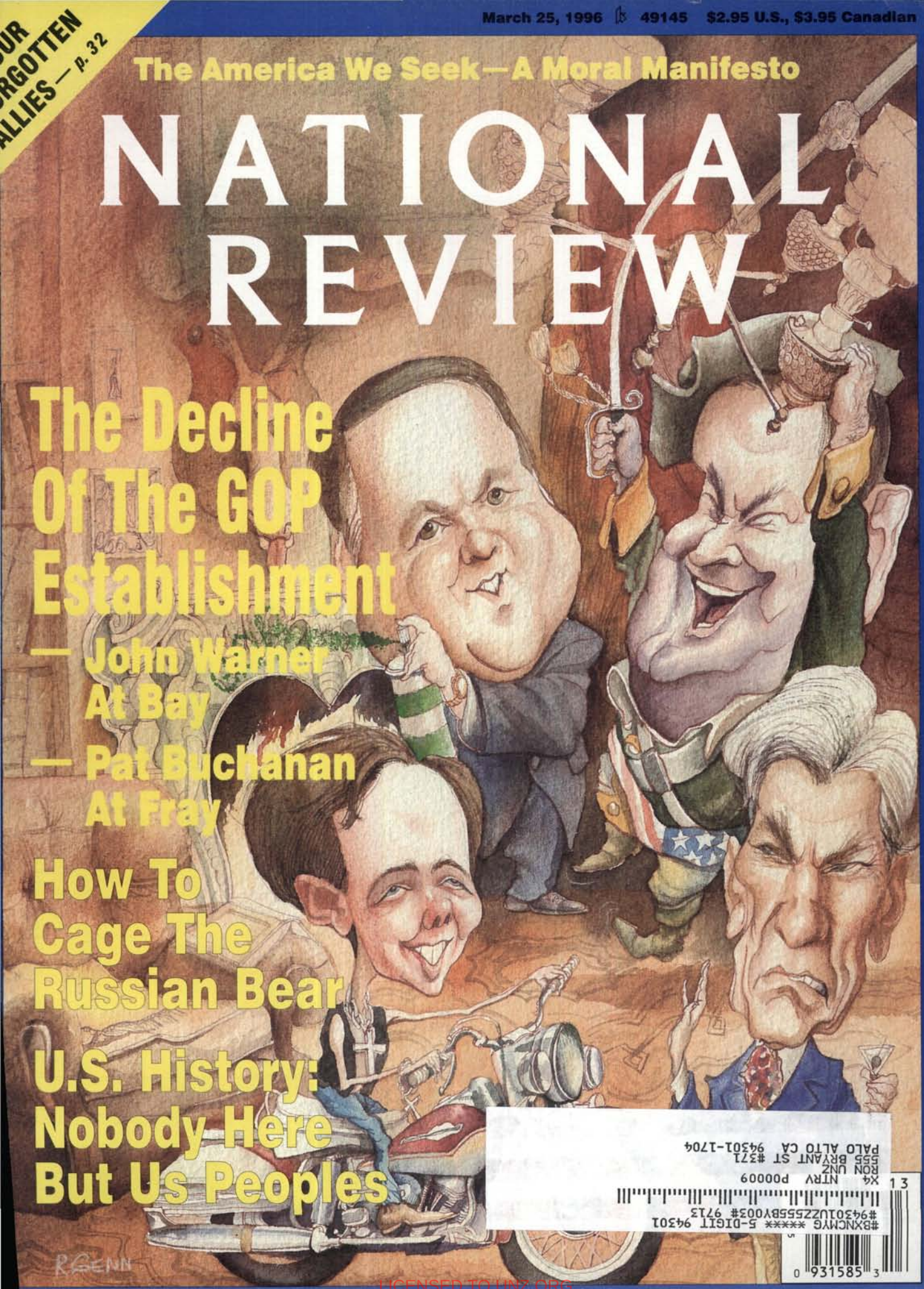
The Decline Of The GOP Establishment

— John Warner At Bay

— Pat Buchanan At Fray

How To Cage The Russian Bear

U.S. History: Nobody Here But Us Peoples



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NATIONAL REVIEW

MARCH 25, 1996 VOL. XLVIII, NO. 5

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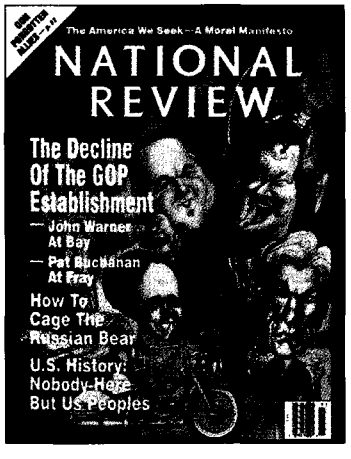
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LETTERS

North and South

As one of the few Presbyterian ministers who enjoys reading NATIONAL REVIEW almost as much as the Bible, allow me to note respectfully that Richard Brookhiser's "Throwing the Book at Her" [Feb. 12] incorrectly identified Walter Rauschenbush as a Methodist minister. He was actually a Baptist minister, serving a German Baptist congregation in New York City before teaching church history at Rochester Theological Seminary, a Baptist school.

While applauding Mr. Brookhiser's effort to note religious differences between the President and the First Lady, I would suggest the difference is less a matter of Baptist *v.* Methodist than a difference between Southern *v.* Yankee religion. In their respective regions there isn't a whole lot that separates Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, other than perhaps social class. But all three differ from their corresponding brethren on the other side of the Mason–Dixon Line. The social gospel, for example, originated in crusading Yankee soil (first among Baptists like Rauschenbush and later, after much resistance, among Presbyterians). It never really took root in the Land of Cotton, where Southerners of all denominations looked more to Providence than to moralistic crusades to redeem social ills.

Robert W. Patterson
Terrace Park, Ohio

Convictions

Even Homer nods. Contrary to Elliott Abrams ["'McCarthyism' Reconsidered," Feb. 26], Allen Weinstein did not prove the Rosenbergs guilty. I did, in collaboration with Ronald Radosh. Mr. Weinstein convicted Alger Hiss.

Joyce Milton
Brooklyn, N.Y.

The War on Drug Legalization

Congratulations on your call to end the War on Drugs ["The War on Drugs Is Lost," Feb. 12]. You have struck a blow for children and adults, crime reduction, and civil rights. Before 1914, any child could walk into a drugstore and legally buy heroin, which was sold over the counter as a sedative and pain reliever. There was no "drug problem," no pushers selling to children, no drive-by shootings, no gang wars, no junkies stealing to support their habits, no serious crime problem in America.

Those problems arose with alcohol prohibition in the 1920s, disappeared when Prohibition was repealed, and then reappeared with the War on Drugs in the 1960s. The war has brought no victory, only terrors: harsher laws, asset seizure, suspension of civil liberties—all of which have hurt the innocent far more than the guilty. This is not the way to fight crime.

In my book *Why Government Doesn't Work*, I offer serious proposals to reduce crime. 1) Empty prisons of non-violent criminals so that the thugs who terrorize society can no longer plea-bargain or get early release; 2) end gun-control laws that help criminals to prey on defenseless Americans; and, above all, 3) end the War on Drugs.

Since I am the only presidential candidate who wants to reduce crime and drug use by ending the War on Drugs, I may seem out of step with the public. Yet in campaigning, I have found that most Americans know that government doesn't work: its schools do more damage than good; its War on Poverty has expanded poverty; and its War on Drugs has created the war zones in our inner cities.

America is ready for the bold step you propose.

Harry Browne
Libertarian Candidate for President
Costa Mesa, Calif.

Legalize drugs? Has Buckley flipped his lid?

Robert Waite
Menlo Park, Calif.

All my heroes seem to be "growing." First Barry Goldwater backed gays in the military. Then *NR* came out for legalizing drugs. Who's next? The Gipper rethinks the "Evil Empire"?

It's because of William Buckley and *NR* that I am a conservative and not a libertarian. Libertarians favor legalizing drugs, gambling, and prostitution. The libertarians are logical and consistent: Government has no business intervening in voluntary transactions. But what to do if the libertarian society results in a nation of dopeheads and its young men refuse to volunteer for military service during national emergencies? Libertarians fiddle while America burns. Maybe that's why they get 1 per cent of the vote.

In Minneapolis crime is out of control. While other cities have dropping crime rates, we had nearly one hundred murders in 1995. The typical killing involves men high on cocaine executing rival gang members. The police catch most of the bad guys. Our problem is that prosecution is lax, penalties are lenient, crime pays.

For practical purposes, we have already decriminalized drugs in Minneapolis. You can get away with murder too. The same people who are soft on drugs are soft on crime. It's the end of the line for the permissive society, the decline that James Burnham described as "suicide." What ever happened to standing athwart history and yelling stop?

Tony Petroski
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dead White Psychoanalyst

It is perverse to blame Freud for the recovered-memory movement, as E. Fuller Torrey did in his review of *Why Freud Was Wrong* [Dec. 31]. It is essentially anti-Freudian, being grounded in an early theory Freud recanted. Freud had seen shadowy sexual ideation behind his early patients' symptoms and accounted for it by positing actual instances of sexual abuse in those patients' childhoods, but he soon concluded he was wrong. Among other considerations, he realized how unlikely it was that all his patients' fathers were incestuous pedophiles, which parallels the reason most people today realize that the recovered-memory movement is barking up the wrong tree.

We are today in a situation uncannily similar to that which Freud found himself in when he concluded he was wrong. How do we account for the fact that so many people are so highly suggestible on the subject of child sex abuse (which, of course, is not to deny that such abuse happens all too frequently)? In answering his own question, Freud accounted for it very well with his theory of infantile sexuality, and no one has yet come forward with a better explanation for what so manifestly needs explaining. But between now and then, look for more dirt on the most hated DWM of them all.

Brian O'Brian
Salem, Ore.

NR *Great Mag, Needs Verbs*

Just one suggestion for your otherwise peerless publication: Drop the telegraph style in "For the Record." When was the last time you got a telegram? For Pete's sake, buy a verb!

Lionel Waxman
Tucson, Ariz.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Primary Complications

■ We publish an important contribution to the abortion debate in this *NR*. Forty-five intellectuals, Left and Right, outline their vision of an America without abortion and how to achieve it.

Public opinion seems to be shifting in a pro-life direction. Advocates of legal abortion have recently conceded that abortion is an evil to be discouraged. There is strong support for a ban on partial-birth abortion, and, most telling, its defenders resist describing it plainly.

The White House refers to the ban confusingly as a "measure which would criminalize a rarely used abortion procedure even in cases where the woman's health is at stake."

Compare the question asked in a poll commissioned by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (not my favorite political bedfellows): "Congress is debating a late-term abortion procedure called partial-birth abortion. It involves partially delivering a live fetus in the last months of pregnancy, killing the fetus, and then completing the delivery. Would you support a law which would prohibit this procedure, except where it is necessary to save the mother's life?"

Thus informed, 71 per cent of respondents supported the bill. Even among pro-choice voters, 65 per cent supported the bill.

Still wriggling, Mr. Clinton suggests a compromise prohibiting such abortions except where the mother's health, including her mental health, might be at risk—a loophole large enough to drive a hearse through.

And it is hard to imagine the mother whose mental health would be improved by the dismemberment of her child.

■ In general, whether or not the supporters of an idea will openly endorse it is a good test of its popularity.

Recall those who, when asked if they are liberal or conservative, reply that the liberal–conservative spectrum no longer captures the complex nature of political reality or the subtlety of their views.

The technical name for such people is "liberals." In the immortal words of John Gross (often quoted here): "Complexity is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

■ The prospect of an open convention, mentioned by Kate O'Beirne in our last issue, has been comprehensively rubbished by all the politicians. So, shrewdly, many readers have concluded that it would be a Good Thing.

But how, they ask plaintively, can they vote for one?

Nothing simpler. Always vote *for* the candidate who came in last in the previous primary (e.g., Lamar) or for the candidate who looks like he's dropping out (e.g., Lamar). When all candidates score identically, vote for one who has already dropped out (e.g., Phil Gramm).

And from the recent results, that is exactly how the American people seem to be voting.

■ A non-political explanation for Bob Dole's failure to rouse enthusiasm may be his much-touted regimen of diet and exercise. People who have lost weight in this way are always more ecstatic about it than those around them.

The dieter sees a new younger self; the audience sees a drawn cadaverous stick-figure with big eyes and bony joints. Then the stick-figure asks coyly: "Notice any change in me?"

One searches for the right phrase.

"Frankly," I reply, "I wouldn't know how to describe the difference."

Mr. Dole doubtless embarked on the treadmill hoping to convince a skeptical electorate that he was young and fit enough to be President. But every time I see him on television, he looks more and more like Bela Lugosi.

Fatten up, Bob. Get jolly. People will always vote for Santa Claus over Ichabod Crane. Remember the wise words of W. Shakespeare:

Let me have men about me that are fat;
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights;
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

NATIONAL REVIEW

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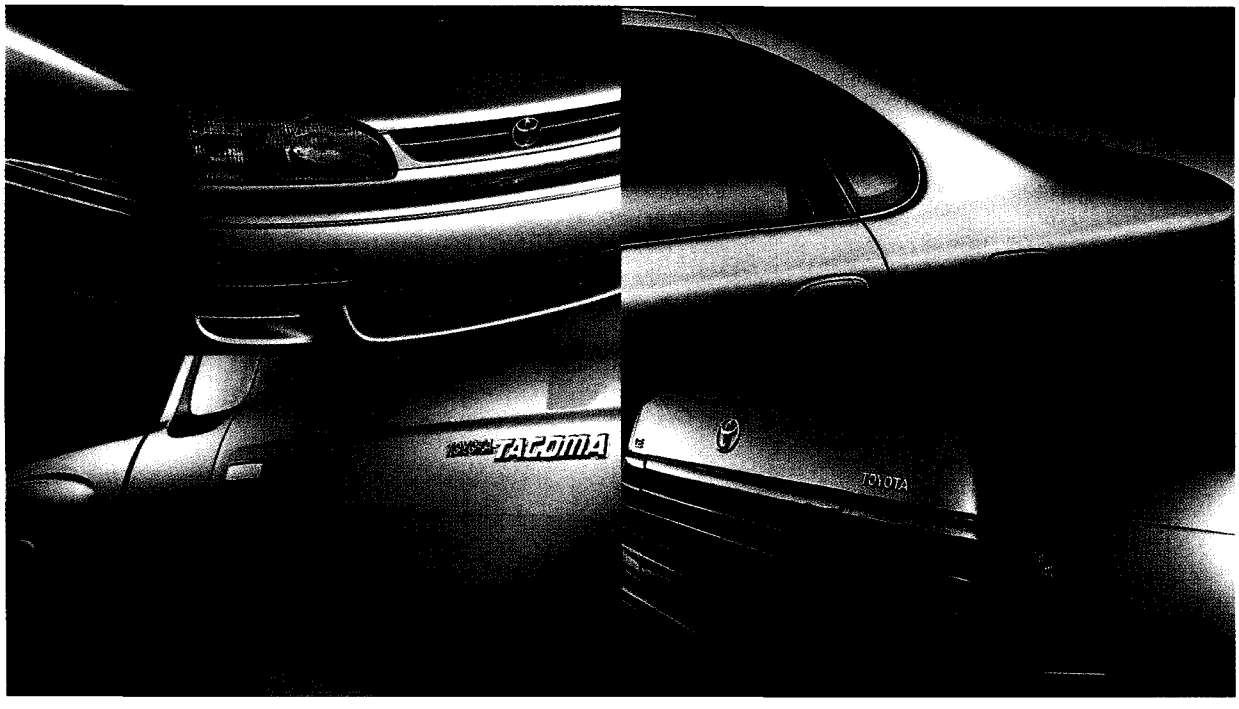

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FOR THE RECORD

■ **Buchanan** campaign manager **Bay Buchanan** calls **Ted Koppel** "two-faced, anti-Catholic bigot" for report on Buchanan's family background which the campaign interpreted as an attack on his father and his faith. Koppel erroneously reported that Buchanan *père* had been regular listener to Father **Coughlin**'s radio broadcasts. . . . **David Duke** takes credit for Buchanan's Louisiana win: "I helped him win the caucuses here in Louisiana. I think that gave him a lot of momentum. [But] I guess he figures it's best not to be associated with me directly." After Buchanan rejected more unwanted support—from Russian ultra-nationalist **Vladimir Zhirinovsky**—Zhirinovsky accused him of behaving "like **Clinton** and other corrupt politicians." . . . Former New York Mayor **Ed Koch** compares Buchanan to **Hitler**: "He doesn't have the bully boys yet of 1922. What he's doing is appealing to those deep-rooted, horrible sentiments that exist in so many people in every country in the world." **Bill Bennett**, who is national chairman of **Lamar Alexander**'s campaign, and **Bill Kristol** said they could not support Buchanan if he won the nomination. . . . Meanwhile, Buchanan campaign begins to conduct stringent background checks on new campaign staff to avoid taking on anyone with embarrassing backgrounds. . . . Buchanan on the former South Carolina governor who helped push **Dole** over the top: "**Carroll Campbell** is a very popular governor and he deserves every penny of that $1 million he's getting as a lobbyist up in Washington, D.C." . . . After comic **Joan Rivers**, a **Steve Forbes** volunteer and long-time friend, called Buchanan "anti-Semitic, anti-black, [and] anti-gay" on Phoenix radio station she was pulled from campaigning. . . . Republican strategist **Mary Matalin**, on the party's reaction to Buchanan: "The name-calling is bad. The name-calling is wrong. The name-calling is the game the liberals play." . . . The *Los Angeles Times* finds a letter from Steve Forbes to Lamar Alexander in 1985 praising Alexander as "one of those rare individuals who knows how to get things done, even if they're out of the ordinary." Despite nothing better than third-place finishes Alexander continued to pull in $100,000 to $200,000 a day in contributions. Said fundraiser **Mel Sembler**: "We have the candidate, and we have the money. Now all we need is some delegates." . . . **Alan Keyes**, excluded from South Carolina debate, began a hunger strike in protest. Excluded from Georgia debate, he was arrested for trying to break into the TV studio. Keyes says of National Right to Life Committee's suggestion that he's not a major contender: "That's a code word for 'He's black and can't win.' " . . . National Right to Life PAC runs ads in South Carolina newspapers concluding "Say YES to Life. Say NO to Alexander and Forbes."

■ In vindication of House Speaker **Newt Gingrich**, federal district judge **Louis Oberdorfer** clears GOPAC of FEC allegations that it violated election laws by helping congressional candidates before it registered as a federal PAC. . . . Gingrich has 60 per cent approval rating in his district, but still could face challenge from multi-millionaire cookie manufacturer **Michael Coles** (D.). . . . Oregon State Sen. Pres. **Gordon Smith** (R.), who lost race for **Bob Packwood**'s Senate seat to **Ron Wyden** (D.) in January, announces candidacy for seat of retiring Republican Sen. **Mark Hatfield** in November. . . . Ex-prostitute **Jessi Winchester**, a Democrat, announced her candidacy for seat of retiring Rep. **Barbara Vucanovich** (R., Nev.): "I'm just going to go out there and kick butt and tell it like it is." . . . The Colorado House voted to eliminate the state minimum wage.

"Oh, so, you think I'm a lousy politician? Well, I think you're a not-so-special special interest!"

■ Russian reformers like ex-Prime Minister **Yegor Gaidar** swinging back to Pres. **Boris Yeltsin** as lesser of evils in this summer's presidential election, with probable other choices Vladimir Zhirinovsky and Communist **Gennady Zyuganov**. Zyuganov is running 2 to 1 against Yeltsin in polls. A big yawn greeted **Mikhail Gorbachev**'s announcement that he would also be a candidate. . . . Russian Defense Minister Gen. **Pavel Grachev** is still breathing fire on Chechnya, calling it "a testing ground for the strategic enemies of Russia whose main aim is to split the country and annex part of its territory." . . . Zyuganov told Ukrainians that he wouldn't use force but reunification with Russia is inevitable. . . . North Korea has slowed work on an intercontinental ballistic missile, according to **Richard Cooper** of U.S. National Intelligence Council, revising estimates of when it could target the U.S. mainland from five years to fifteen years. . . . Pres. **Jacques Chirac** is downsizing France's conscript army from half to quarter million in a modernization drive that includes privatization aimed at boosting high-tech-weapons manufacturers' sales. . . . **Carlo** Cardinal **Furno**, Vatican delegate to a church strategy meeting in Havana, read a message from Pope **John Paul II** saying Catholics are still not free in Cuba, the only country in Latin America the Pontiff has not visited.

■ Annual **Fulton Sheen** lecture will be given by **Gertrude Himmelfarb**, April 18, in NYC. Topic: "The Re-Moralizing of Society." For details, call 212-949-0949.

■ Phoenix Suns forward **Charles Barkley** endorses Steve Forbes: "I think he's got some good ideas." When Barkley's grandmother told him that Republicans favored the rich, he reportedly replied: "Grandma, I *am* the rich." . . . At Conservative Political Action Conference, Bill Bennett was asked if he would boycott Seagrams Corp. now that it has a stake in a gangsta-rap record company. Quoth he: "You expect an Irish Catholic to boycott Seagrams?"

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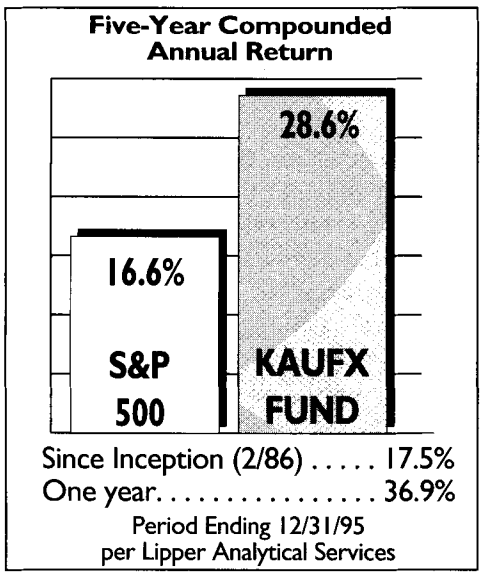

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THE WEEK

■ Lamar fades; the shirt hit the fan.

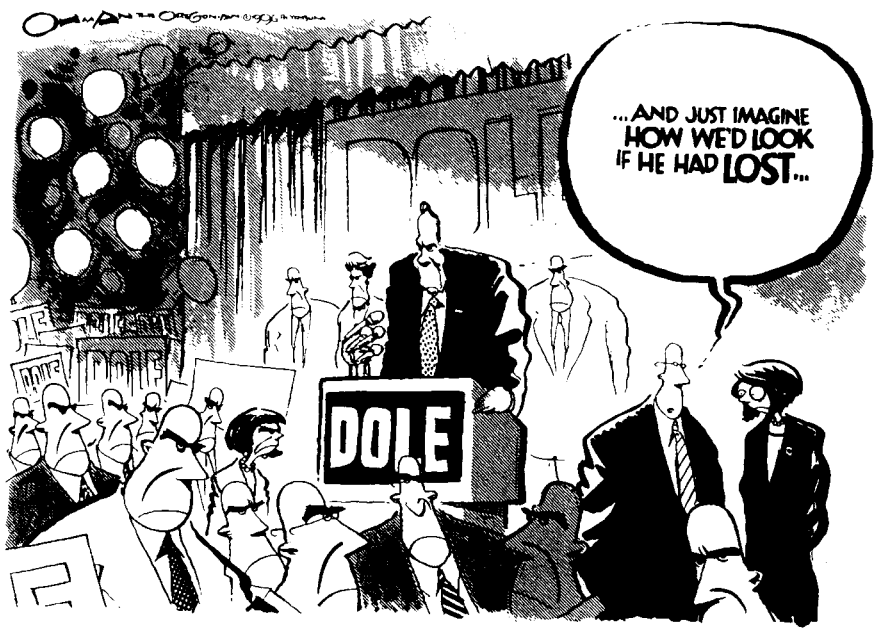
■ Free-market fanatics, which emphatically includes us, are disturbed by Patrick J. Buchanan's heretical revival of the American tradition of tariffs. Of course, we have to admit that tariffs *are* just another form of tax. Arguably, they would result in no more misallocation than the enormous onslaught of taxation that has taken federal revenues from below 5 per cent of GDP under Calvin Coolidge to almost 20 per cent under Bill Clinton, without too much libertarian uproar. But meanwhile we have another question: Why has no one—for example, his fans at the Cato Institute—noticed that Steve Forbes is committing an even greater heresy against free-market writ? He is reviving another American policy tradition, that of the currency crank. He wants to abandon floating exchange rates (the prescription and lifetime achievement of Milton Friedman), fix the U.S. dollar against gold at a high rate, and resist any and all pressures to let the dollar depreciate ("trashing the dollar," in Forbes-speak). This, of course, would mean periodically closing down the economy to reduce imports and generate a dollar-bolstering current account-surplus—the celebrated "stop–go" effect that crippled Britain in the 1960s. That's apparently OK with Mr. Forbes, who seems to view a "strong dollar" as an end in itself. But his "strong dollar" would also make American products more expensive in foreign markets—and foreign products cheaper in American markets. Amazingly, Steve Forbes intends to subsidize imports and tax exports—across the board. He's a protectionist too—an *inverted* protectionist. Ed Crane, call your office.

■ ANNALS OF EXTREMISM. "By forcefully raising the issue of economic vulnerability, Buchanan pushes the whole debate to the left. A month ago, the issues were budget balance and the flat tax. Today they are corporate greed and working-class wages. Thank you, Pat. . . . Now that Pat Buchanan has demonstrated that economic fears equal political pay dirt, we can expect Democrats . . . to begin speaking with a bolder voice. It's about time."—Robert Kuttner, *Boston Globe*. Looks like "flirting with socialism" to us.

■ ANNALS OF EXTREMISM, CONT'D. "Joseph A. Ditzhazy, chairman of the Colin Powell for President Committee in Michigan, . . . was fussing over logistics at [a book signing for *My American Journey*] in Detroit. Before taking up the cause of Powell, Ditzhazy had been chief of intelligence and counterintelligence for the Southeast Michigan Militia. . . . When I asked what was the connection between maneuvering in the woods out of fear that the government might go tyrannically haywire and campaigning for a lifelong Pentagon/Beltway insider, Ditzhazy praised Powell's 'integrity and moral courage' . . ."—Richard Brookhiser, in a piece on the Powell book tour in *Forbes FYI*. Powell never made it from author to candidate. But if he had, surely America would have been entitled to ask why militiamen were *attracted to his campaign*.

■ New York's Mayor Rudy Giuliani has vowed to do all he can to stop Pat Buchanan from winning the Republican nomination. Even if he has to endorse him.

■ Anyone who thinks that the Democrats are really reconciled to the end of the era of big government should look at congressional Democratic proposals to address worker anxiety. Much of their agenda, outlined by House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, is standard Democratic fare: "fair trade," more spending on education and training programs, health-insurance regulation, pressure on the Fed to ease up on inflation. But the centerpiece of Gephardt's proposal—and of legislation sponsored by Sens. Daschle and Bingaman—is financial incentives (tax breaks, government contracts, pension-fund investments) for "corporate citizenship." Essentially, the Federal Government will bribe companies to operate little welfare states for their employees. Companies will be rewarded for not laying people off, for offering generous non-wage benefits, and for unionizing. This bold new idea is in fact corporatist socialism, a very old idea with roots in medieval guilds. Democrats offer these regressive proposals because their analyses of the economy's problems focus on huge bureaucratic corporations like AT&T. In fact, the health of small businesses and the number of new busi-



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ness start-ups are vastly more important than the health of a few mega-corporations. There is reason for concern about the economy: family incomes and wages have been stagnant in the Nineties, and, as Alan Reynolds points out, the seven "fat years" of the Reagan expansion have been followed by seven "lean years" under Bush and Clinton. But this anemic growth is largely the result of specific mistakes: e.g., tax and welfare policies that discourage people from seeking work. Americans' economic anxieties can be addressed by reversing those mistakes: by cutting taxes and regulations. House Majority Leader Dick Armey gave a fine speech along these lines the same day Rep. Gephardt spoke. We hope Sen. Dole—and Mr. Buchanan—were listening to the right speech.

■ Contributions to President Clinton's legal defense fund have dropped off sharply, and just as further charges seem likely to multiply. We pledge to do our part to feel more of his pain.

■ On February 29, Federal District Court Judge Louis Oberdorfer threw out the suit brought by the Federal Election Commission against GOPAC. The FEC admitted that GOPAC gave no money to federal candidates, Newt Gingrich included. Still, it claimed that efforts to organize state and local GOP groups and to shape the national agenda were actually sneaky, unregistered attempts to affect federal elections. According to the FEC, *any* attempt to affect politics or issues at any level falls under the control of the FEC. Judge Oberdorfer said, No way. The get-Newt crowd spun into overdrive. David Bonior filed another ethics charge against Gingrich rehashing the FEC charge; the still-taxpayer-funded National Public Radio expressed dismay that the judge would let GOPAC beat the rap for "secretly" raising millions of dollars to engineer a Republican takeover of Congress. Next on NPR: Gingrich's New World Order?

Smoot & Hawley Do Vaudeville

Oh, Mr. Hawley . . . I say there, Hawley!
On this cloud I have a sense of déjà-vu.
Pat Buchanan's in an act
That got Herbert Hoover sacked,
And the audience sounds antsy in the loo.

Please, *Mr. Smoot . . . Suck a cheroot.*
Though God knows our legislation was a beaut,
Why feel pain for Pat's career
In a zither act up here?
But I worry, Mr. Hawley.
Pour a stiff one, Mr. Smoot.

—W. H. VON DREELE

■ Bill Clinton had better hope he has more luck getting schoolchildren into uniforms than America had getting him into one.

■ NATIONAL REVIEW's call to reconsider a failed drug war has not exactly been embraced on the presidential hustings. That is no surprise—politicians respond only to deep-seated shifts in opinion. But a gradual shift on the drug war continues: Richard E. Neville, a Chicago Criminal Court judge, became the latest law-enforcement figure to say: Enough is enough. High profits bring "ten replacements" for every drug offender imprisoned. "No matter how many we put in jail, that isn't going to stop. . . . It's a revolving door that has continued for thirty years, and will continue until we change the policy."

■ In Australia's elections—a decisive defeat for Labor—the main campaign issues were youth unemployment and immigrants on welfare. John Howard, the new conservative prime minister, campaigned on dismantling the system of lavish "retraining" and high minimum wages, which produces unemployment of 30 per cent among 16-to-21-year-olds. Howard also promised to extend from six months to two years the waiting period for immigrants to be eligible for welfare. But some of the biggest electoral upsets suggested that there's an even tougher-minded brand of conservatism in the outback. Labor's Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Robert Tickner, a loud champion of all kinds of superstitious native land claims, lost his seat in a 14 per cent swing. Graeme Campbell, a Labor MP expelled from the party for his attacks on multiculturalism, won re-election as an independent. And in the fastest-growing state, Queensland, another rebel won—conservative Pauline Hanson, who stirred up the media by saying that campaigners for aboriginal land rights were "only interested in money." Disowned by the frightened establishment, including Howard, as a "racist," she lost her party support but won her race handsomely, also running as an independent. The Australian electorate wanted straight talk on taboo issues, and the more politically incorrect the better. Sound familiar?

■ Two in-laws of Saddam Hussein who fled to Jordan seven months ago returned to Iraq, only to be shot by members of their own family three days later, thus ironing out that little problem. Windsors, take note; Princess Di, take care.

■ Minister Louis Farrakhan made a One Man March through Africa and the Middle East, strewing bouquets everywhere he went. In Iran, he addressed crowds that were chanting, "Death to America"; in Libya, he was promised a billion-dollar (*sic*) loan from Col. Qaddafi; in Iraq, he called UN sanctions "mass murder" and a "crime against humanity"; in Nigeria, he compared Gen. Sani Abacha, the local tyrant, to Moses. He also visited the Sudan, where (black) slaves can be had for $15. Teach, brother! All of which led Eric Breindel of the *New York*

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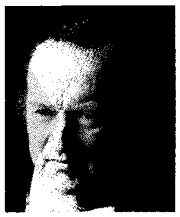

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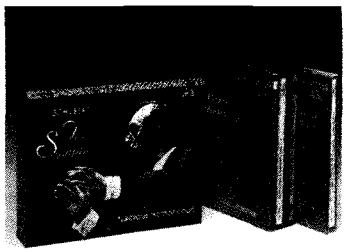

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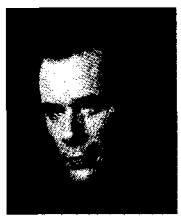

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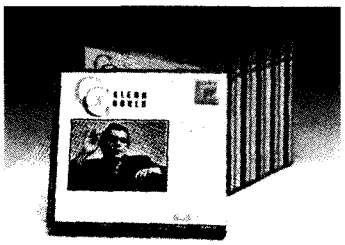

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Post to an interesting point. Pat Buchanan is supported by Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America, who has shared podiums with racist kooks. Bill Clinton is supported by former Rep. Kweisi Mfume, who, as head of the Congressional Black Caucus, made a "sacred covenant" with Louis Farrakhan. Pratt, called on his behavior, denounced kookery. Mfume, not called on anything, maintains a profound silence. Pratt and Buchanan are Bad Men. Mfume and Clinton are—what?

■ Before 1970, one member of a divorcing couple had to be shown to be at fault. After 1970, states began allowing divorce merely on the grounds of "irreconcilable differences." Divorce rates shot up, and there arose the phenomenon of impoverished, mostly middle-aged women whose husbands had abandoned them for fresher prospects. In California, divorced women on average suffer a 73 per cent decline in standard of living. Their former husbands suffer more subtle woes. Lately, state legislators in Iowa, Michigan, Illinois, Idaho, Pennsylvania, and Georgia have been talking about reinstating the older criteria for granting divorces. But the lawmakers face an uphill battle. As Janet Daley has pointed out in the London *Daily Telegraph*, no-fault divorce arises from a common intellectual assumption: that social institutions should be judged according to whether they retard or advance "personal liberation." By this standard, marriage becomes just a love affair which, when it ceases to satisfy one partner, may be dissolved. If it is to be at all meaningful, says Miss Daley, marriage must be more than that: "a public act of commitment [to] the wider community: the extended family, future offspring, perhaps the Church, and society at large." What is needed is not just a legal counterrevolution but a philosophical one.

■ Engler for Veep? The ticket needs balance, and Governor Engler is a jolly man.

■ On April 11, the Foundation for Economic Education ("FEE" to the libertarian and conservative community) will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its founding as the first conservative think tank in America, the proud creation of the late Leonard Read. The celebration will feature Margaret Thatcher as the guest of honor. WFB will be the master of ceremonies. To be held at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York. Tickets are still available at $500 from the Golden Jubilee Committee Headquarters (212-888-7003). See you there.

■ Lamar?

Dole, a Reason Why

Elizabeth's not Hillary.
You don't get two for one.
She'd never rattle hubby's staff.
Her elbows never stun.
She isn't out for Lebensraum.
She's at home with a fan.
She'd do a dinner for the Queen
But not a health-care plan.

—W. H. VON DREELE

Mr. Dole's Inheritance

SENATOR Dole's clean sweep on Junior Tuesday has almost certainly won him the GOP presidential nomination. It was a joyless but comprehensive victory, secured more by the weakness of his opponents than by his own charisma. Lamar Alexander, now shirtless, was exposed as an establishment populist. Steve Forbes, still fighting a principled campaign, occupied too narrow a strip of ideological terrain. And Pat Buchanan, also soldiering on, was painted as a demonic figure and, instead of refuting the charges reassuringly, seemed almost to revel in them with his black hats and pitchfork imagery. As a result, Republicans fell back into the royalist mode, and Mr. Dole beat his opponents even on their strongest ground. He won more votes than Pat Buchanan among those who believe that trade costs jobs; he beat Steve Forbes among fans of the flat tax; and he triumphed over Lamar Alexander among the somewhat liberal, the moderate, the somewhat conservative, and the very conservative.

It may turn out differently, but for the moment Mr. Dole looks set to glide smoothly to San Diego. He inherits a party that has seen its "revolutionary" enthusiasm turn to limp exhaustion in the space of a few short months. How did it happen? And what are the lessons for the likely nominee?

Several strategic mistakes brought the GOP to this pass. Balancing the budget, as *NR* has repeatedly emphasized, was never the GOP's strongest issue. The embrace of a balanced budget was motivated equally by overreaction to the Perot phenomenon, an ingenuous faith in simplistic polls that showed overwhelming support for it, and the mechanical necessity of advancing an agenda that could unite almost all Republicans. But this single-minded pursuit of a zero deficit by 2002 shifted the terrain of the political battle from principle to accounting. It also forced Republicans to take on Medicare, which became a black hole sucking in the rest of the GOP agenda; the party was too busy playing defense on Medicare to play offense on anything else. A series of tactical misjudgments further hurt the party: notably, caving in on both government shutdowns after sustaining maximum political damage and before getting a surrender from Clinton.

This congressional performance satisfied no one. As a result, various segments of the GOP coalition began to

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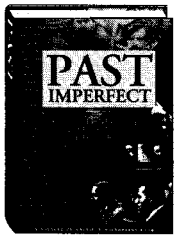

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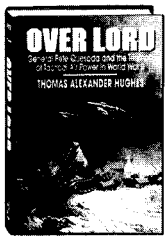

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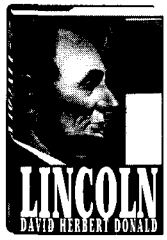

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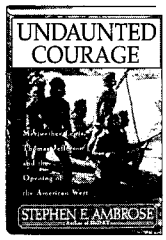

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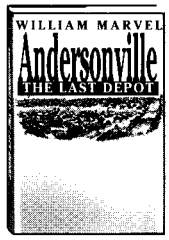

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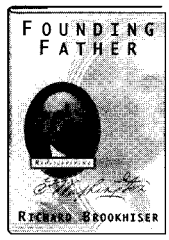

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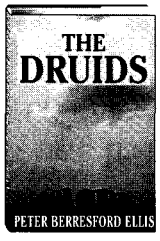

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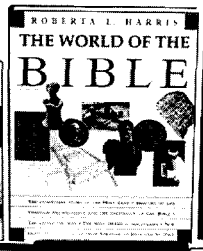

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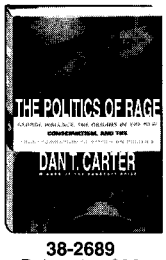

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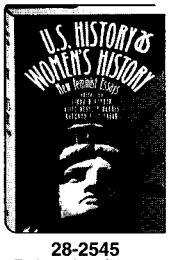

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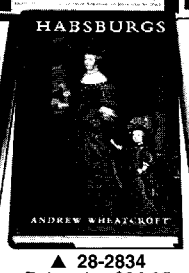

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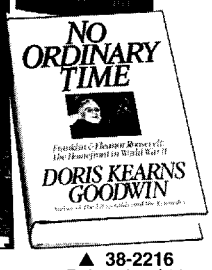

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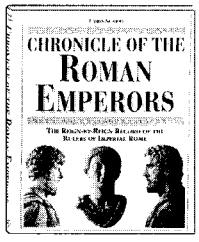

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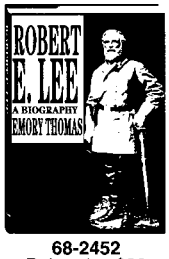

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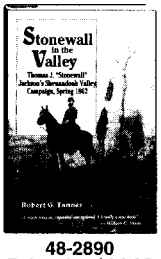

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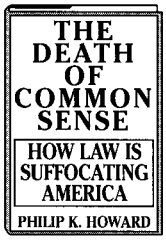

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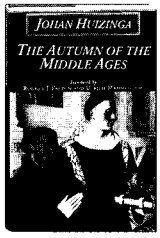

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look for vehicles through which they could achieve their own agendas. They found them in Steve Forbes and Pat Buchanan. Ironically, these two candidacies, in reacting to the balanced-budget debacle, replicated its errors: magnifying one aspect of the conservative agenda that must be informed by the rest if it is going to succeed, either electorally or substantively. With each side pulling at its end of the coalition, conservatives are facing the prospect of a deep, perhaps irreparable, rupture. The *Wall Street Journal* assails social conservatives for not supporting Steve Forbes, even though he offered nothing of interest to them; social conservatives question the importance or even desirability of economic freedom; the Beltway Right rises as one to denounce Pat Buchanan in feverish tones.

These trends, if not reversed soon, could short-circuit the conservative realignment that is under way. Any divorce between economic and social conservatism ultimately works to the detriment of both. Conservatives will have to avoid political fantasies—like the 100 per cent pure flat tax of the supply siders' dreams—that are a product of the same flabby triumphalism that led Hill Republicans into so many traps. Just as social conservatives are reconciled to the fact that the Human Life Amendment is not going to be enacted next year regardless of the election results, so economic conservatives must entertain the possibility of incremental reforms toward the goal of a single, flat tax rate. All such grandiose projects must take a back seat to beating Bill Clinton now.

Which, naysayers notwithstanding, can still be done—despite the missteps so far, despite Mr. Dole's weaknesses as a candidate. The brute fact remains that the President won in 1992 with 43 per cent of the vote, and he has not built on that base. The Electoral College remains stacked against him. Whitewater torture will continue to highlight his reputation as a dubious character. The GOP nominee can count on support from a raft of

Right Data

PRODUCTIVITY is rising, profits are up. But corporations are still laying off employees and skimping on raises. "The owners of capital are registering huge gains while ordinary Americans are seeing their incomes fall," says Robert Reich. Pat Buchanan agrees.

Are companies stiffing their employees? A little perspective helps. Corporate profits jumped to a record $614 billion last year, up 17 per cent from 1994. Adjusted for inflation, however, after-tax profits have merely reached levels last seen in 1979. Profits are at records; profitability is not. Corporations earned an average 6.7 cents on each dollar of sales last year, well below the profit rate of the 1960s. Profits are puny compared to the taxes and interest paid by corporations.

Employee compensation takes nearly two-thirds of business income. Although more than 2.5 million workers lost their jobs because of restructuring between 1990 and 1995, labor's share did not fall by much.

So why are workers so unhappy? Partly because their pay contains less cold cash and more fringe items like health insurance, life insurance, and pensions. A recent study by the Employment Policy Foundation reported that non-cash benefits now account for 41 per cent of employee compensation, more than twice the level of the 1970s. And employees often derive no benefit from such "benefits." Employer-paid Social Security and Medicare taxes, for example, are counted as compensation although the money goes to current retirees. Had government not mandated these benefits, or encouraged their use via tax exemption, the employees might well have been getting fatter paychecks.

Divvying Up: Profits, Pay, and Other Costs
(Per $1 of Corporate Sales)

	After-Tax Profits	Employee Compensation	Taxes	Depreciation and Interest
1960s	$0.090	$0.642	$0.188	$0.080
1970s	0.056	0.667	0.154	0.123
1980s	0.052	0.662	0.147	0.139
1990	0.053	0.664	0.126	0.157
1994	0.064	0.660	0.137	0.139
1995 (3rd Q)	0.067	0.659	0.138	0.135

Source: Dept. of Commerce; calculations by author

Government statistics seem to confirm the perception that Americans are working longer and harder without commensurate compensation. For most of the postwar period, productivity and compensation moved in sync. In the past two years, according to Commerce Department data, worker output per hour grew 7.8 per cent, while real hourly compensation fell 1.1 per cent. Labor leaders see exploitation. But similar gaps have opened up in the past, and every time they have closed again within a year or two.

Complicating matters is a new method of calculating productivity. To summarize briefly, government bean counters decided that although computers on office desks are 50 times more powerful than the ones there ten years ago, they are nowhere near 50 times as useful. Computers drive so much of the economy's recent growth that this adjustment reduces productivity estimates for the period 1990–1995 by nearly half. At the same time, many economists believe that the consumer price index overstates annual inflation by about 1 per cent, thereby understating growth in real compensation. The pay gap may turn out to be purely a statistical artifact.

No matter how you measure it, productivity is the key to both profits and employee compensation. Historically, productivity grows when employers provide more plant and equipment for each worker. The prognosis is not good. Between 1948 and 1970 the capital-to-labor ratio grew at 2.4 per cent a year; since then it has grown at just 1.5 per cent a year. Tax policy has been fingered. An extra dollar earned by business capital in the U.S. generates about 66 cents in federal, state, and local tax liability, according to the Texas-based Institute for Policy Innovation. Flat tax, anyone?

—Ed Rubenstein

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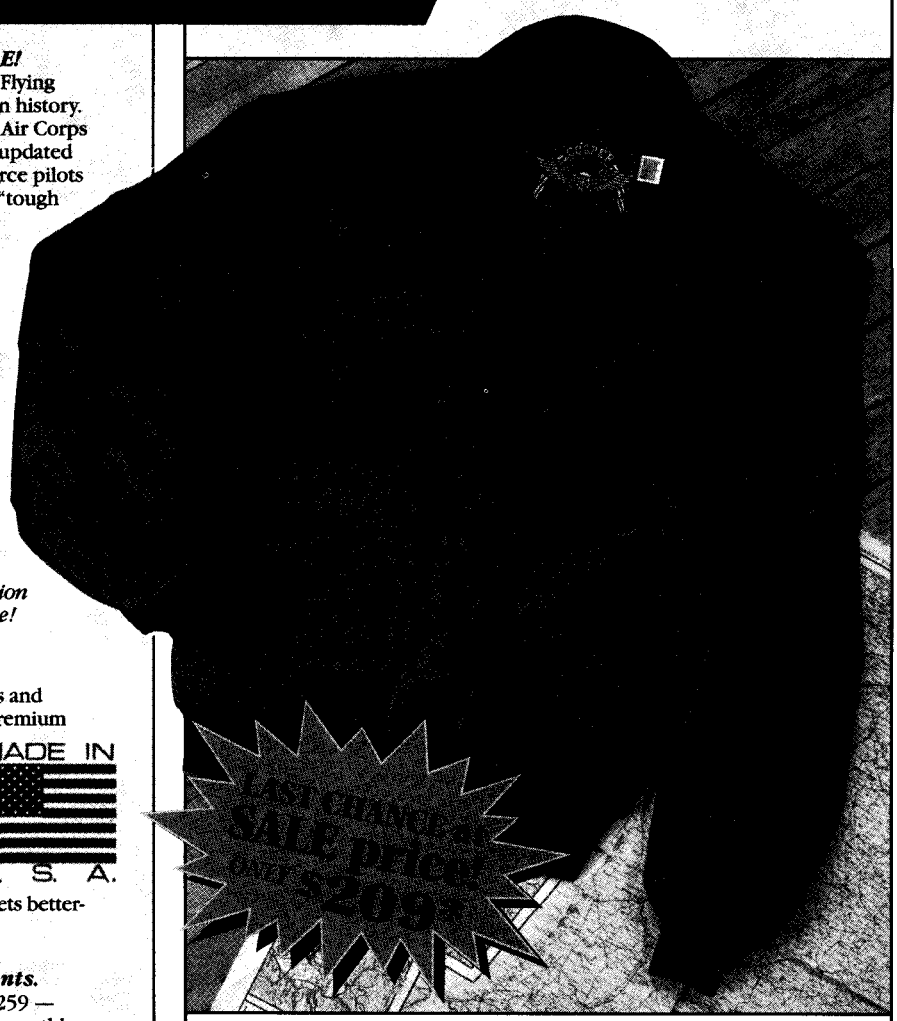

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new governors and their state machines. And the California Civil Rights Initiative will cut into Clinton's ability to take that must-win state.

But Republicans will have to be willing to run a negative campaign, to frame the election as a referendum on the incumbent President, to sharpen the distinctions between the parties, now in danger of being blurred by Clinton's rhetorical conservatism. Every week between now and November, Republicans should remind the public that Clinton is a liberal. The Republican Congress would not then be running on its record, but pressing forward a popular agenda that divides the President from his rhetoric. On the budget, Republicans should declare a partial victory—spending this year will be growing at less than 2 per cent, a drastic change from the recent pattern—and move on. They should push tax cuts as a downpayment on reducing government. They should take on race and gender preferences, which, like the recent ban on partial-birth abortions, would force President Clinton to defend the indefensible. They should pass popular immigration reform. They should offer a bill to kill the National Endowment for the Arts, another bill re-submitting all their vetoed corporate-welfare cuts, others defending traditional American history standards and official English. In and out of Congress, Republicans must put individual debacles abroad—in Northern Ireland, in Russia—in the context of a failed Clinton Administration foreign policy. And throughout the year the GOP should hold oversight hearings focusing on abuses of the public trust by the Administration (especially the IRS), on regulatory excesses, on the use of tax dollars in partisan campaigns, on women victimized by the abortion industry.

In short, whatever the Republicans' problems, they still hold a winning hand. Time to start playing it.

Voices of Hate

AS THE primary season swung through New York, the Buchanan campaign raised once again the dark specter of hate speech in America. PAT'S TOO REICH WING (*New York Post*). A "panderer to anti-Semitism, a backer of Nazi war criminals, and a would-be ayatollah" (Sen. Alfonse D'Amato). "He in his comments suggested the possibility that he's anti-Semitic, although that's something he can only answer from his own soul" (Father Rudolph Giuliani). "He's a neo-Nazi" (former Mayor Ed Koch).

But it wasn't only New Yorkers who said, *J'accuse*. A host of commentaries and news stories echoed the charge, depicting Buchanan as an associate of extremists; as a casual (or, worse, sly) anti-Semite who, in attacking liberalism or large corporations, focuses on Jewish-sounding names; finally, as a Holocaust denier.

The first two charges—associating with extremists, picking on obviously Jewish names—are used with an elasticity that makes it impossible for Buchanan to evade them. Buchanan's campaign includes Larry Pratt, head of Gun Owners of America, a hard-line gun group. Pratt has shared podiums with racists and kooks. This is guilt by association, and it works only one way. Before he bowed out, Phil Gramm courted the Gun Owners of America, without anyone's accusing him of kookery. And Pratt condemned racism after the brouhaha arose. But it was too late—Buchanan now wears a Scarlet P. Similarly, when Buchanan flayed the Mexican bailout, he invoked as symbols Robert Rubin and Goldman Sachs. But Rubin is Treasury Secretary, and Goldman Sachs was his firm. If Buchanan were running against George Bush, he would be hectoring Nicholas Brady and Dillon Reed. Would that make him anti-WASP? He now includes Chemical Bank and Chase Manhattan on his dishonor roll, but that doesn't stop people from calling him an anti-Semite.

The charge of Holocaust denial arises from his defense of John Demjanjuk, deported to Israel and tried as Ivan the Terrible, a sadistic guard at the Treblinka death camp. Buchanan argued passionately in his column that Demjanjuk was innocent; an Israeli court agreed (though it judged that he had been a camp guard, of lesser distinction in brutality). In making his case, Buchanan challenged the credibility of eye-witnesses by saying that diesel engines—the mode of execution which they testified had been used at Treblinka—could not in fact asphyxiate people. Buchanan was wrong: diesel exhaust does kill, and it killed thousands of Jews at Treblinka. But columnists are not obliged to know every detail of the Holocaust (or the Gulag, for that matter). Buchanan was not denying that the Holocaust had occurred, merely that a particular method of murder had been used. In another oft-cited column, which conceded Hitler's "courage" and "oratorical powers" (traits also conceded by Churchill and any competent historian), Buchanan called him "a man who without compunction could commit murder and genocide." To call Buchanan a Holocaust denier, or a neo-Nazi, is absurd. Messrs. Koch, Giuliani, and D'Amato—who have been variously called racists and fascists—should know better, even if liberal pundits don't.

Let D'Amato Be D'Amato

Senator Dodd, the Democrats' chair,
Battled like Mom, determined to spare
Bill from the press and Hillary from
Perjury while coiffured as Yum-Yum.
Senator Daschle, fearful of what's
Stashed in the family rooms under pots,
Also opposed the 600 thou'
Needed by Al to really bow-wow.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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Small Company's New Golf Ball Flies Too Far; Could Obsolete Many Golf Courses

Pro Hits 400-Yard Tee Shots during Test Round

Want to Shoot an Eagle or Two ?

By Mike Hensen

YALESVILLE, CT – A small golf company in Connecticut has created a powerful, new ball that flies like a U-2, putts with the steady roll of a cue ball and bites the green on approach shots like a dropped cat. But don't look for it on weekend TV. Long-hitting pros could make a joke out of some of golf's finest courses with it. One pro who tested the ball drove it 400 yards, reaching the green on all but the longest par-four's. Scientific tests by an independent lab using a hitting machine prove the ball out-distances ten major brands dramatically.

Ball gains altitude quickly, then sails like a glider

The ball's extraordinary distance comes partly from a revolutionary new dimple design that keeps the ball aloft longer. But there's also a secret change in the core that makes it rise faster off the clubhead. Another change reduces air drag. The result is a ball that gains altitude quickly, then sails like a glider. None of the changes is noticeable in the ball itself.

Despite this extraordinary performance, the company has a problem. A spokesman put it this way: "In golf you need endorsements and TV publicity. This is what gets you in the pro shops and stores where 95% of all golf products are sold. Unless the pros use your ball on TV, you're virtually locked out of these outlets. TV advertising is too expensive to buy on your own, at least for us.

"Now, you've seen how far this ball can fly. Can you imagine a pro using it on TV and eagle-ing par-four's? He would turn the course into a par-three, and real men don't play par-three's. This new fly-power forces us to sell it without relying on pros or pro-shops. One way is to sell it direct from our plant. That way we can keep the name printed on the ball a secret that only a buyer would know. There's more to golf than tournaments, you know."

"We keep the name on the ball a secret"

The company guarantees a golfer a prompt refund if the new ball doesn't cut five to ten strokes off his or her average score. Simply return the balls–new or used–to the address below. "No one else would dare do that," boasted the company's director.

If you would like an eagle or two, here's your best chance yet. Write your name and address and "Code Name S" (the ball's R&D name) on a piece of paper and send it along with a check (or your credit card number and expiration date) to National Golf Center (Dept. S-26), 60 Church Street, Yalesville, CT 06492. Or phone 800-285-3900 anytime. No P.O. boxes. One dozen "S" balls cost $24.95, two to five dozen are only $22.00 each, six dozen are only $109.00. You save $40.70 ordering six. Shipping and handling is only $4.00 no matter how large your order. Specify white or Hi-Vision yellow.

Mike Hensen is a freelance sports writer who specializes in golf.

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There remains the question of Buchanan's temperament. There is an intemperance in his political persona which, while it does not prevent him from being an effective tribune for the Buchanan Brigades, unsuits him for the Oval Office. It will never change. As he charmingly advised William Rusher, in the book *How to Win Arguments*, a debater, when caught in an error, should stand on the accelerator and speed away.

America or Utopia?

AFTER the largest sustained rise in immigration since the 1880–1920 "Great Wave," and in the wake of several botched reforms, Congress is finally about to vote on immigration restriction in the form of two bills, HR-2202 in the House and S-1394 in the Senate, sponsored by Rep. Lamar Smith (R., Tex.) and Sen. Alan Simpson (R., Wyo.) respectively. These bills, modeled largely on the recommendations of the bi-partisan Jordan Commission, propose inter alia to reduce legal immigration from its average annual figure in the 1990s of over one million to 567,000 (HR-2202) or 440,000 (S-1394), to restrict "family re-unification" admissions to spouses and minor children (eliminating preferences for more distant relatives and adult children), and to deter the employment of illegal aliens by such methods as a "tamper-proof" Social Security card.

These provisions are extremely modest (if anything, the annual numerical totals are too generous). They have overwhelming popular support as measured by polls. And their bi-partisan supporters include President Clinton (who, it pains us to admit, has been more serious about tackling illegal immigration than either the Reagan or the Bush Administration). If such flagrantly reasonable measures are defeated or diluted further (by, e.g., the proposed amendment to grant temporary work visas to 250,000 farm workers), then their supporters must conclude that Pat Buchanan is right: we need a five-year moratorium on all immigration to compel enthusiasts to negotiate seriously about long-term reform.

And there *is* a danger of defeat—posed, curiously, by Washington's conservative establishment. It mounts two sets of arguments against the reforms: first, that immigration is a clear continuing benefit to American society; second, that reduced immigration would damage GOP and conservative political prospects. To which we reply: if you believe that, you'll believe anything. But to amplify:

The socio-economic case was put in a "Manifesto for Immigration," written by Malcolm Wallop (Steve Forbes's campaign manager), Spencer Abraham, William Bennett, and Jack Kemp, and published (where else?) on the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page. It gives us no pleasure to say this of friends, but in comparison with WABK, the Bourbons who had forgotten nothing and learned nothing seem like prophetic visionaries. WABK have not forgotten their utopian rhetoric about immigrant America—does a child lost in the multicultural confusion of the Los Angeles Unified School District with its eighty languages really inhabit "a shining city on a hill"?—nor have they learned any of the recent economic findings about immigration's impact. Thus:

—They claim, quoting Julian Simon, that "the studies uniformly show that immigrants do not increase the rate of native unemployment." Not so. For example, David

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Excerpted from "On the Right," March 5.

IT is difficult to excuse some of the charges that have been leveled against Pat Buchanan. If there is an excuse, it is that exactly the same kind of thing has been said before about apostates from orthodoxy. Senator Goldwater was compared to Hitler. The Democratic Party chairman, Senator Chris Dodd, said of Buchanan, "The only difference between Pat's supporters and skinheads is hair."

I am obliged to exonerate Mr. Buchanan from an accusation attributed to me. Columnist Richard Cohen wrote, "His writings on Jews forced William F. Buckley to conclude reluctantly that 'it is impossible to defend Pat Buchanan against' charges of anti-Semitism." Others have said and written the same thing. On *Meet the Press* interlocutor Tim Russert's guest was campaign manager Bay Buchanan.

Russert: "But again, these are not wild-eyed liberals criticizing Pat Buchanan. William F. Buckley, NATIONAL REVIEW, said Pat is anti-Semitic—"

Buchanan: "He never said that."

Russert: "He wrote an article and concluded—"

Buchanan: "He suggested that it *could* be concluded. He did not say he *was*."

Russert: "William Bennett said he flirted with fascism. . . ."

The reference is to a conclusion I arrived at in a book on contemporary anti-Semitism published in 1992. The chapter devoted to Buchanan sought to illustrate the danger of misunderstanding when polemical pipes are pitched in a special way. I cited examples of this from Buchanan's columns and television statements. My conclusion: "I find it impossible to defend Pat Buchanan against the charge that what he did and said during the period under examination amounted to anti-Semitism, whatever it was that drove him to say and do it: most probably, an iconoclastic temperament." This refinement should not be thought too complicated for such as Mr. Russert to handle. What I said was that in my own judgment, the probability was that the anti-Semitic pulsations of what he was then saying were prompted not by anti-Semitism but by the allure of audience titillation/shock. The Lenny Bruce syndrome. **—WFB**

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A view from Washington

TOYOTA HAS A GLOBAL COMMITMENT TO PRODUCE LOCAL PRODUCTS

To be truly successful, automobile companies must operate in the global marketplace. For many years Toyota has recognized the benefits of investing in the economies where we do business. In 1995, Toyota committed to a further expansion of our worldwide localization. We believe it makes good business sense for Toyota to invest locally. It also benefits our customers, our suppliers, our industry and the communities in which we operate.

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By reinvesting the profits from the vehicles we sell into the markets where we sell them, Toyota has become the fourth-largest manufacturer of vehicles in America. As part of our expansion efforts, we recently announced a $700 million T100 truck manufacturing plant in Gibson County, Indiana. This new plant is just the latest in a long line of major investments we have made in North America. Our successful $3 billion plant in Kentucky, and our joint venture plant with General Motors in California, is the foundation upon which we will build a greater presence as a manufacturer in the U.S. Toyota employs more than 19,000 Americans. Last year we produced 639,000 vehicles in the U.S. Including our Canadian operations, we built more than 729,000 vehicles in North America. By 1998, we will have the capacity to build 1.2 million. Jobs are sure to increase accordingly.

Better cars and stronger economies result from global sourcing

Toyota works with thousands of local businesses and suppliers. Last year Toyota purchased more than $5.6 billion in U.S.-made parts and materials. About $1.3 billion of that total was exported for production of vehicles in Japan. More than 500 U.S. suppliers are now working with us. As we expand our operations, these businesses and the communities in which they are located will continue to benefit.

Expanding consumer choice, particularly in Japan

One out of every ten cars sold in Japan last year was imported from the U.S. or Europe. By creating partnerships with other international automakers and importing cars from our operations outside Japan, Toyota is expanding choice for our Japanese customers. In Japan, our customers can now choose from General Motors-built Cavaliers from Ohio, as well as Avalons, Camrys and Corollas built in our own plants in North America. More than 4,000 Toyota outlets in Japan sell at least one of these imported models.

Competition benefits the consumer, the industry and Toyota

Competition is the oil that keeps the global economy turning. As automakers challenge each other in the marketplace, we all improve. At Toyota, we know that we can continue to be competitive only by being responsive to the high standards and needs expressed by our customers. For example, by meeting their need for locally produced products, while providing them with the level of choice and quality they expect, we continue to improve our competitive capability. This competition benefits the U.S. economy, the American consumer and Toyota.

We are pleased with the progress we've made to expand our local manufacturing, local job creation and commitment to the communities around the world where we operate. But we will not rest on our laurels. We will continue to set a strong pace.

Hiroshi Okuda
President
Toyota Motor Corporation

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Jaeger at the Bureau of Labor Statistics has published a study demonstrating that roughly half the decline in real wages of native dropouts is caused by immigration.

—They argue, quoting Bill Gates, that limits on skilled immigration will damage American companies and U.S. inventiveness generally. But Norman Matloff of the University of California at Davis shows in a new report that a) almost all the major technical advances in computers have been made by U.S. natives; b) U.S. universities are turning out more domestic graduates each year than the computer industry needs; and c) skilled foreigners are hired simply because they are *cheaper*. Anyway, didn't WABK notice that the skilled immigrant "quota" is almost never filled? And when it *was* filled, that was because the U.S. Government used it to circumvent the asylum process and admit Chinese students.

—They maintain nervously that the evidence is "mixed" about whether immigrants are a welfare burden. In fact, it hasn't been mixed for a long time. George Borjas, both in *NR* and in peer-reviewed economic journals, has established that immigrants receive both cash and in-kind benefits at substantially higher rates than the native-born. WABK simply cling to a discredited contrary conclusion in a study of legal immigrants famous because it "removed the immigration problem by removing the problem immigrants," i.e., it did not count any immigrants from Mexico on the grounds that some are illegal.

WABK's long-term solution to the welfare problem, incidentally, is to end welfare for everyone—which looks like being a very long-term solution indeed. Their short-term solution is to prohibit illegal immigrants from receiving welfare. (And their citizen-children?) In which case, shouldn't B and K apologize to supporters of Proposition 187, which they so highmindedly opposed?

The argument that immigration benefits the GOP politically, mounted by Grover Norquist and the *Weekly Standard*, amounts to a gallant Pickett's Charge into the Union guns of every poll on immigration in the last forty years. For instance, a recent CBS–*New York Times* poll, asking a question designed to minimize the American people's opposition, showed disconcertingly that 38 per cent of voters *want no immigration whatsoever*. A more balanced Roper poll, offering multiple choices, shows that 83 per cent want lower immigration than at present, and that 70 per cent support totals of 300,000 or fewer (i.e., lower than the quotas in either bill).

Pickett's Division have two rejoinders. They cite, first, the backlog of adult relatives abroad whom the new legislation would make ineligible to enter the U.S. on grounds of family reunification. Their relatives, say Pickett's, would vote Democratic in revenge. This presupposes a somewhat idyllic view of family life and loyalty. And, anyway, the relatives would still be eligible if they could find an employer to offer them a job. If not, do we really want elderly relatives, brought here on false promises of family support, to end up swelling the welfare rolls? For *they* would certainly vote Democratic—out of self-interest.

Pickett's second claim is that Hispanic voters will swell the Republican vote provided the GOP does not antagonize them by opposing immigration. As it happens, both halves of this thesis are faulty. Majorities of immigrants, Hispanics, and Hispanic immigrants all support lower immigration. And in most elections Hispanics vote Democratic over Republican by 70 to 30.

Population projections, moreover, suggest that continued high levels of immigration pose a real threat to the GOP's fragile national majority. The Census Bureau estimates that, if immigration continues at present levels, Hispanics will account for between 20.2 and 24.6 per cent of the U.S. population in 2050. If their political loyalties remain unchanged, that would give the Democrats a clear national majority. Hispanics would need to shift massively into the GOP column before that demographic shift was even negated, let alone reversed.

The Week in Verse

New Hampshire past, the rebel angels' camp
Was cheer'd to think *Buchanan* the new champ;
"Now known in arms not to be overpower'd,"
Quoth *Pat*, as o'er the unbowed heads he glower'd
Of 's Host, "And proof 'gainst fiercest Ad and Poll
Hurl'd from high by troops of *Forbes* and *Dole*;
What *Negatives* they'd powerfulest to send
And judg'd sufficient to subdue, my friend,
Did not do so—then fallible, it seems,
Of *Beltway Bob* and *Yacht Club Steve* the schemes."
The rebel host took courage from his spiel
As country clubs cried out: "Hey, what's the deal?"

But from its lethargy at last there stirr'd
Th' *Almighty Press*, which greeted with this word
Its *Chosen One*: "Go forth, thou mightiest Son,
Ascend my chariot; battle is begun.
Now gird my sword upon thy puissant thigh
And smite th' *Extremist* legions—at least try,"
It said, and shone th' effulgent Oversoul
Direct upon the filial cheek of *Dole*.
Then in the glare of that most brilliant sun
The others wilted: *Lugar*'s race was run,
And mighty *Alexander*'s battle fought;
Ev'n *Forbes* lay down before that juggernaut.
Buchanan's fate—alas, he could not duck it!—
Was read in tears from *Denver* to *Nantucket*.

Far from the harsh campaign's ignoble strife
A bye for *Clinton* and a quiet life—
Made quieter as Congression'l *Democrats*
Delayed the launch of *Whitewater* brickbats—
Gave time for thought and acts of statesmanship
To show he's not a flop, although he flip.
In *Florida*, as *Cubans* manned their boats,
His anti-*Castro* gestures bought some votes,
While *Irish* eyes would smile and look away
When *Adams* came here for St. Patrick's Day.

—Juvenal

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The vote on immigration reform will tell us whether the GOP and the conservative movement are still in the grip of benevolent but utopian fantasies, or are prepared to address the serious social problems of our country. If establishment conservatives are still daydreaming, Pat Buchanan might yet be able to pick up the pieces in the California primary.

Declaration of War

THE Palestinian terrorist bombings in Israel are not attacks on an Israel that is "intransigent." On the contrary, they are attacks on an Israel that has been generous to a fault in its recent concessions to the Palestinians. Inevitably they raise the question whether the Palestinians deserve concessions at all.

The time has come to suspend the negotiating process —as Israel's president, Ezer Weizman, has recommended. It needs to be brought home to the Palestinians, who are the principal beneficiaries of diplomacy, that their own interests are most at stake. The burden is on them to declare who really speaks for them: the Arafat who signs peace agreements on the White House lawn? or the suicide bomber who murders dozens of innocent people? The answer *cannot* be the Arafat who continues to talk out of both sides of his mouth—speaking of peace before the international media, while ranting about "jihad" in Arabic speeches to his constituents.

Pressing ahead with the negotiations in order to show the terrorists that Israel doesn't cave in to pressure is at this stage naïve. It lets the Palestinians off the hook. It also does little to enhance Prime Minister Shimon Peres's reputation for firmness. Like FDR after Pearl Harbor, Peres spoke last week of an enemy that had declared war on Israel and had to be met with all-out war in response. Henceforth, he said, Israeli forces will operate "in every possible place, and with every means at our disposal"—not inhibited by the restrictions of the Oslo accords.

For many reasons, including his own political survival, Peres cannot pass the buck back to Arafat. But ultimately, the fate of peace between Israelis and Palestinians does rest in Arafat's hands. The Palestinians, having just held an election and constituted a political society, must take responsibility for policing their side—*and* pay the political price when they fail to do so. Peres does Arafat no favor in relieving him of his burden by allowing the negotiations (and Israeli concessions) to continue.

Benjamin Netanyahu's standing in the polls rises with every terrorist attack. The Likud leader now edges Peres in forecasts of the elections scheduled for late May. Yet, ironically, the result of the terrorism is not to make Likud's dream of rolling back Oslo realizable—Oslo is now irreversible—but to accelerate the physical separation of the two peoples (roadblocks, checkpoints, fences), tending to the territorial partition that Labor always endorsed. That could be a livable, if grim, solution. Many formulas are possible for Israeli–Palestinian coexistence—but none of them can permit political murder to continue.

Semper Fidel

CUBA's shooting down of two unarmed civilian aircraft has exposed the confusion and hypocrisy that underpin President Clinton's Cuba policy. After the requisite expressions of outrage, the Administration showed its cynicism in an unguarded moment in a Pentagon press briefing. Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon—when asked what he would say to the leader of Brothers to the Rescue, who had vowed to fly back to the same spot a week later—cracked: "I would say he seems to be a slow learner."

In the 1992 campaign, candidate Clinton out-bid George Bush in anti-Castro fervor. In office, President Clinton filled, or tried to fill, all his key Latin American policy positions with naïfs enamored of rapprochement with Fidel. The Administration has been tempted by the elusive (and implausible) idea that a more conciliatory American posture could lure Castro down a Gorbachevite path of political reform. Implausible, because Fidel saw what happened to Gorbachev and has no intention of risking his own grip on power.

A sensible Cuba policy would seek, not superficial reforms, but ways to precipitate the dismantling of the regime. Five months ago, courageous Cubans banded together to form Concilio Cubano, an umbrella coalition of more than 130 democratic and human-rights groups. The organization was still small and weak, but Castro took no chances: he prevented the group from convening in Havana and then he jailed its leaders. That ought to tell us something about the regime's vulnerability.

Mr. Clinton has again lurched right, protesting the shootdown and embracing the Helms–Burton legislation to tighten economic sanctions against Cuba. A major benefit of the legislation is that it codifies in statute the U.S. trade embargo that has up to now been enforced by Executive Order. It thus squelches whatever urges the Administration may feel to court Castro by stealth. The United States' policy—and, undoubtedly, Fidel Castro's policy—are now frozen in concrete until the end comes. That's all right, because there is no sense in relaxing pressures until the regime is at the point of collapse.

It's Bill Clinton, not Brothers to the Rescue, who's the slow learner.

Baby, It's Cold Outside

POOR old *New York Times*. No sooner had it reported (Jan. 4, 1996) that 1995 was the "hottest year ever" than it was hit by the great blizzard—and by the revelation that the data peddled to it by glob-

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al-warming enthusiasts was bogus. The *Washington Post* reported (Jan. 8) that the *Times*'s temperature data for 1995—which were put out by the British Meteorological Office—didn't include December, and December was exceedingly cold.

Now that the data for the whole year are in, 1995 proves to have been the eighth warmest year since 1979, according to John Christy of the Earth System Science Laboratory in Huntsville, Alabama. Eighth warmest in 16 years would seem to make it horribly average.

More interesting than the bare fact that the *New York Times* was gulled is the question: why? Climatologist Fred Singer says that environmentalists at the British Meteorological Office could see that December was going to spoil the 1995 numbers and "wanted to beat the clock with a hot [*sic*] story." Second, he says, they wanted to give a boost to the report of the UN-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which continues to insist that the "global warming" problem exists—though it has scaled down its estimate of the increase by the year 2100 from 3.2° to 1.3° C.

Of course even if 1995 had been the hottest year on record it wouldn't prove global warming, which can only be established by calculating a trend based on a run of many years. Balloon and satellite data for the past 16 show a global trend of minus 0.05° C. per decade. That won't cool the *Times*'s ardor.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In your column a while back on English as the official language of the United States, you refer to "the late senator and semanticist, S. I. Hayakawa, whose native language was Japanese." Are you sure of this? My recollection is that Hayakawa himself wrote somewhere that he spoke no Japanese, but I have not been able to find a reference for this.

Yours truly,
Garth Peterson
Sioux Falls, S.D.

Dear Mr. Peterson: You're right. Sorry. (SIH was born in Canada.) Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Bill:

I am on the fence with regard to abortion, which can be a painful position to hold, but I agree with you that it is silly to say that people can no longer have discussions concerning abortion's legality.

But I wish the pro-abortionists would follow a few rules to make those discussions more consistent. First, all those supporting abortion should refer to the fetus as a tomato, else they allow the possibility that it is human. For example, a woman seeking an abortion would ask that a tomato be removed from her body, not a human being. Or, a doctor could comfort a distraught woman who had miscarried by explaining it was just a tomato.

Second, any person performing or aiding in abortions would have to sign a statement saying either: 1) I believe the fetus is a tomato; or 2) I believe abortion takes a human life, but I don't want to interfere with the woman's belief that the fetus is a tomato, just as I could have sold a black person into slavery in the 1800s even though I personally think that would be an evil act because I wouldn't want to interfere with a white person's constitutional belief that black people make good slaves.

Thank you and best wishes,
Tom Youniss
Green Bay, Wisc.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

NR will probably have something to say about the current uproar over the use of Indian names for sports teams, and I would like to weigh in with my views.

Our Indian brothers point to the humiliation they suffer over this practice, but say nothing about the other humiliations involved. The Steelers, Oilers, Packers, and Cowboys trivialize the American working class. The Patriots, Trailblazers, Forty-Niners, and Yankees demean our forebears. The Spokane Spotted Owls and the Minnesota Timberwolves ridicule endangered species, and the Lions and Tigers and Bears have overtones of predator violence.

The Angels and Saints belittle the religious; the Cardinals manage to offend both animal activists and the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. The Dodgers insult the noble exodus of our youth to Canada during the Vietnam era. It's time to clean house!

The White Sox and the Red Sox are examples of inoffensive items of apparel as team names. Also, non-sentient life could be represented. Here is my list of suggested new names—

1) The Washington Watermelons
2) The Chicago Yellow Scarfs
3) The Pittsburgh Pansies
4) The Minnesota Mittens
5) The Philadelphia Pink Pants
6) The Michigan Marshmallows
7) The Florida Fruitcakes
8) The Houston Hot Dogs

Admittedly, the last item will have to have a careful second look, but the list is a good beginning. Maybe *NR* can come up with other suggestions.

Sincerely,
Gilbert M. Erskine
Armonk, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Erskine: That is very very ingenious, and you must forward your suggestions to the Democratic Platform Committee in plenty of time; and yes, you might add the New York Nuts, if that hasn't already been taken. Cordially, **—WFB**

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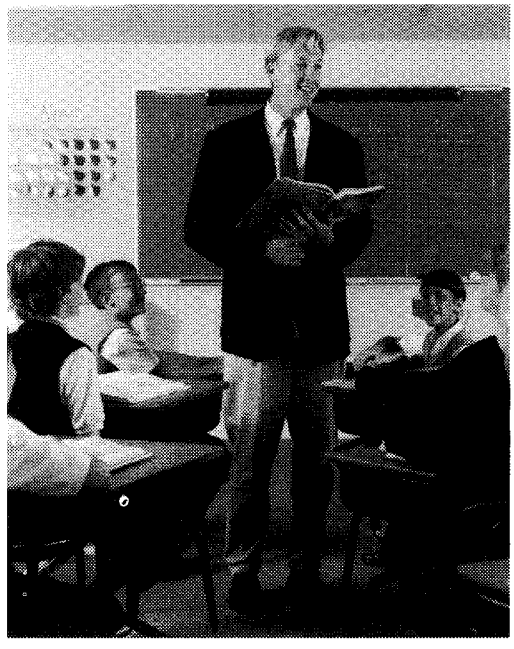

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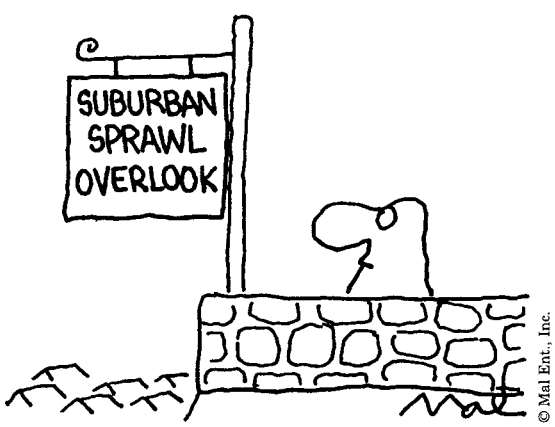
help!!!

"The way he goes on, it's as if he looks on logic as something sacred!"

"Luke, the pardners have voted to offer you sidekick status."



"Well, Haskell, how does it feel to be in the world's tallest building."

Primary Discontent

The more I view the lot we've got,
The more I want to grab a pot
And throw it at the kitchen sink.
The crash would make my kitty blink,
But she's emotionally sound;
And should a neighbor sniff around,
I'd say I'm banging pots to cheer
The candidates of yesteryear.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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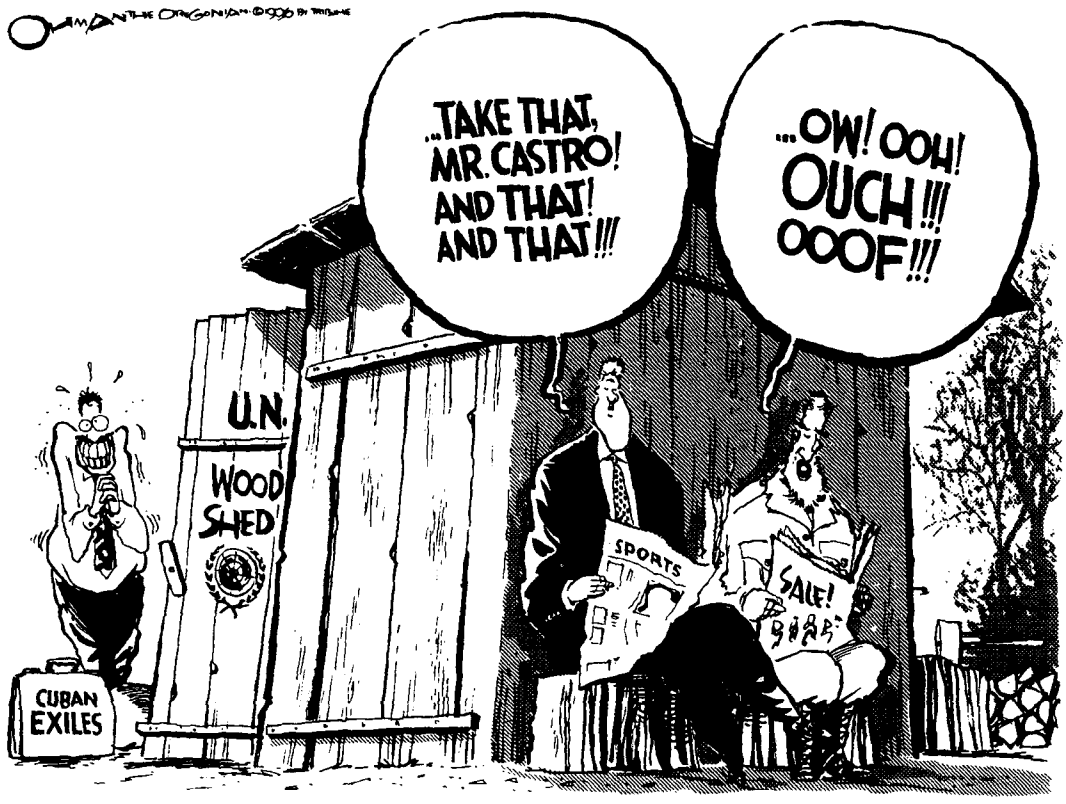

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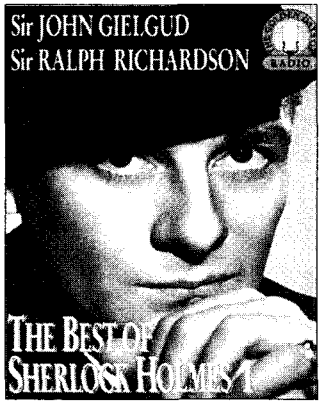

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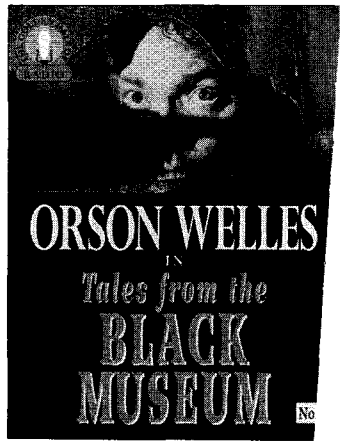

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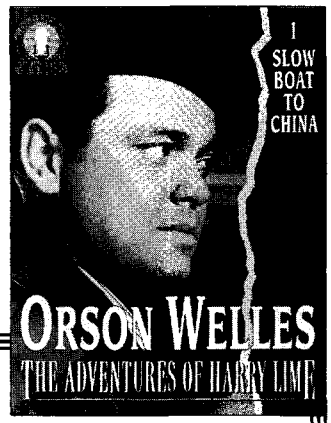

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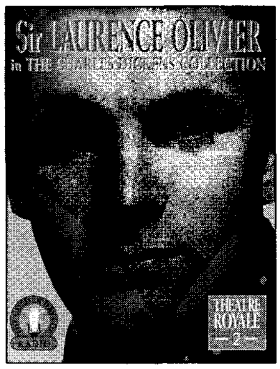

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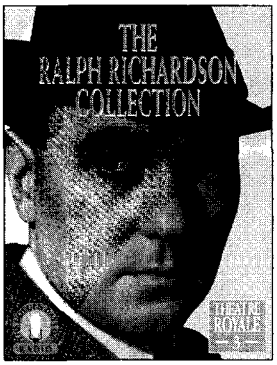

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CAMPAIGN SCENE

Happy Warrior

RICH LOWRY

Roman Genn

SOUTH CAROLINA

PAT Buchanan strides out the door of a local TV station, jaunty and smiling. He gets a typical horse-race question from one reporter standing outside and somehow makes his answer a ringing defense of the Confederate battle flag. "[I]ncredible bravery," he says. "That's what [the flag] means for *us*." Then, seamlessly, he's talking about his own campaign tactics. "We're striking north again. Maryland is wide open. Massachusetts. Maine. . . . And we might strike into New York." As a dark-suited aide pulls gently at his hip to hurry him along, Buchanan signs off: "March or die! Let's go."

Buchanan must get a kick out of the new Secret Service protection that makes his every campaign event a quasi-military operation. Stone-faced agents, clear wires sprouting from their ears and disappearing beneath dark suit jackets, shove reporters and cordon crowds away from "the protectee." Gone is Buchanan's lone white mini-van. Instead, an extensive Buchanan motorcade swept across South Carolina escorted by police cars, running red lights, prompting traffic on the other side of highways to pull to one side, in general creating the sense of urgent mission appropriate for what in Buchanan's mind is less a campaign than his own version of Pickett's charge. Buchanan is obsessed with martial imagery—from his references to "Buchanan's brigades" to his taste for the pungent phrase "Lock and load."

For a week or so after the New Hampshire primary it looked as if he just might succeed in routing Bob Dole just as the American colonists he celebrates on the stump beat back "the greatest army on earth." Now, after critical setbacks in Arizona and South Carolina, Buchanan's candidacy seems destined to go down—fighting, of course. It's the brawler in Pat Buchanan that gives him a certain infectious elan. He thrills to the fight. Buchanan insults a foreign leader or the GOP establishment, then scrunches up his eyes and gives a tight, inappropriate chuckle before catching himself and moving on. He hasn't had so much fun since he was beating people up as a kid.

But if there is much to admire in Buchanan's pugnacious defense of his constituencies—blue-collar workers, social conservatives, the disaffected in general—he never knows when to put his fists down. Foreign trade for him is akin to war; he wants to land punches against Japanese and Chinese enemies, both of which he baits by making the names of their leaders—"Mr. Hash-e-moto" and "Mr. Dung" respectively—sound like schoolyard insults. He projects his underdog complex onto a United States supposedly besieged by a nefarious World Trade Organization and other "global institutions of the New World Order." Under the guise of stand-up leadership, his campaign resorts to the worst sort of pandering to its own particular interest groups. In South Carolina, the target was dislocated textile workers.

The same day Bob Dole visited South Carolina's new BMW plant, Buchanan's motorcade sped to tiny Clearwater. The destination was the Clearwater Finishing plant, a textile operation closed for about ten years and a 1988 campaign backdrop for Dick Gephardt. "We're going to put a spotlight on the people who lose when these trade deals are cut by Beltway Bob, the Bellhop of the Business Roundtable," Buchanan declared, pacing in front of the sagging grey plant. Across South Carolina, he bemoaned the imports that he calls a "cancer in the belly of America" and offered his proposed tariffs on Japanese, Chinese, and Third World imports as the cure.

The economic dubiousness of this program is, by now, well rehearsed (see "Fair Trade, Foul Politics," *NR*, Nov. 6, 1995). But South Carolina proved its political limitations as well—literally in front of Buchanan's eyes. After his Clearwater event, the Buchanan entourage stayed overnight at the Greenville Marriott, which sits directly across a parking lot from the U.S. headquarters of Michelin, the French tire-maker that is one of the state's largest employers. No Buchanan photo-ops here. And few votes. Trade was a loser for Buchanan in South Carolina; exit polls showed voters believing trade creates rather than destroys jobs by a margin of 50 to 37, with the 50 per cent breaking heavily for Dole.

RATHER than any economic theory, it is a distaste for the dislocations of the global economy that underlies Buchanan's trade policies. Indeed, his candidacy is a crusade against uncertainty—in the nation's economy, in its morals, and especially in its politics. His sheer steadfastness marks him as the ultimate outsider—never mind the lifetime in Washington, D.C.—while exit polls show it accounts for as much of Buchanan's support as abortion and trade. "The problem with politicians," a Buchanan sympathizer explained after one speech, "is that they play too much politics." This sentiment seems almost universal in Buchanan crowds. It's what prompted Buchanan to make the remarkable pledge in the South Carolina debate that he

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would conduct an Administration "utterly indifferent to political considerations."

Buchanan, of course, reacts to political pressures like any other candidate; he just does it under the guise of resisting political pressure. The campaign has adroitly shifted emphasis in reaction to changing political terrain: affirmative action and gambling in Louisiana; abortion in Iowa; trade in New Hampshire. In most cases, Buchanan has also managed to become the staunchest defender of some popular local cause. In Iowa, it was family hog farms. In South Carolina, he was patting himself on the back for defending Bob Jones University (which had its tax-exempt status revoked for prohibiting inter-racial dating), as a victim of "bigotry." But is this standing taller than any other candidate or stooping lower?

If Buchanan panders, he also plows ground other candidates are foolish to neglect. His stump speech is laced with fear-mongering about the New World Order—"devout Christians" persecuted for resisting the UN, mothers forced to support their sons' murderers—but what gets the applause is his essential affirmation of American patriotism. He gets great mileage out of merely being forthright about his opposition to abortion. And a staple of Buchanan's speech is an attack on multiculturalism so basic it just amounts to a defense of George Washington, Paul Revere, and other civic gods that it never occurs to any other candidate to invoke.

The foundation of all this is words; the Buchanan campaign relies on them the way other campaigns depend on money or organization. Indeed, the campaign has hip-hop rhythms of its own. Even "lock and load," with the right stresses, has a certain music. At his best, the verbal virtuosity makes Buchanan rollicking fun. You hear Bob Dole is attacking the movies? "Bob hasn't seen a movie since *The Sound of Music*." Lamar Alexander? "Why does Lamar wear that Howdy-Doody outfit?" But more often his rhetoric has a spine-tingling ferocity. At a rally near the Charleston airport, he whipped a small but fervent crowd into chants of "Go Pat, go!" as he compared himself to "Stonewall Jackson at Manassas." It was almost jarring to see people waving the Stars and Stripes instead of the Confederate battle flag.

Buchanan is, as they say, a polarizing figure. He owns his issues—abortion, trade, immigration—but the number of voters moved by them never gets much above 20 per cent, according to exit polls. After his breakthrough among voters concerned about jobs and the economy in New Hampshire, Buchanan had a chance to broaden his appeal and soften his brawler image. Instead, he donned his black cowboy hat in Arizona and focused single-mindedly on immigration, garnering an embarrassing third-place finish. Buchanan had hoped to ride a win in Arizona into South Carolina and then the rest of the South. Now, even if he still picks off the occasional state, he's unlikely ever to regain his post–New Hampshire momentum.

Which doesn't mean Buchanan's campaign is anywhere near its end. He seems to be instinctively reaching for something like the vision outlined by former *Washington Times* columnist Sam Francis: a new "Middle American" coalition, free from both the global capitalism of the Right and the multiculturalism of the Left, contemptuous of the GOP and the traditional conservative movement. But if the Buchanan who refers to the "party of greed" and attacks a "Congress [that] does not care about workers" is attracted to this vision, the Buchanan who served Nixon and Reagan seems too much of a party loyalist to fully embrace it.

Nonetheless, revived front-runner Bob Dole should be making moves to forestall a devastating exodus of Buchananites from the party. Buchanan's bare-knuckled patriotism, his affirmation of the traditional American identity over multiculturalism, his solicitousness for the anxieties of the middle class can all be accommodated without doing violence to Republican principles. And they should be if a united GOP is to oust Bill Clinton. Pat Buchanan has proved once again how effectively he can wage war. The question in the months ahead will be whether he is willing to make peace. □

Doledrums

RAMESH PONNURU

SOUTH CAROLINA

THE real Bob Dole is supposed to be safely under lock and key, biding his time while the handlers' simulacrum of Dole wins the Republican nomination. But every once in a while, the old Dole escapes. It happened in Columbia, South Carolina, during a Christian Coalition "God and Country" rally. In the middle of his speech, Dole said, "I'll tell you how bad it is." It was vintage Dole: the comment was apropos of nothing; it led nowhere; it was just a gloomy reminder that life stinks. This candidate knows in his bones that things are bad and likely to get worse.

It has gotten so bad that this year his main rivals for the nomination are a magazine publisher and a TV shouting head who wants to relive the American Revolution or the Civil War. Neither is qualified for the Presidency, and having to scrap with them must strike Dole as yet another affront to his dignity. But if the primary race has turned bizarre at times, it's partly because there's a gaping hole at the center of the field—where Dole's campaign should be. There's nothing there, just a void so big that it leaves no room for other serious contenders. As a result, the Republican contest has been a whirlwind of activity around a hollow core.

Dole's weakness as a campaigner is hard to exaggerate. He's prone to delivering long passages without content or even verbs. Indeed, he seems almost as allergic to verbs as to ideas. In a recent ad, four of Dole's five sentences lack the offending part of speech. The Columbia address was one of Dole's better performances: each sentence made sense, though none of them had any relation to the others. What's the election about, Mr. Senator? "It's about America, it's about you, it's about your family, it's about your children," he explained. After hearing several variants of this litany, I finally figured it out: the race is about *being about* a bunch of things. It's about . . . all the things it's about.

Lamar Alexander has warned that Dole will "start talking about how to get a bill out of a subcommittee" during the fall campaign. It's a real problem. Consider this gem from Dole's speech to the Christian Coalition: "Remember

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Dr. Henry Foster, you know why he didn't get through? Because Bob Dole led the effort in the United States Senate, and they couldn't get cloture. That's why he wasn't confirmed." Dole will talk about cloture a hundred times before he'll say *why* he opposed Foster or make the case for any other position he has taken.

The most compelling part of Dole's stump speech is when he talks about his own life: about growing up poor in a small town; his heroism in World War II; the long recovery from his terrible war wound. But he can be resentful of people who haven't suffered, who haven't had to struggle as he has. Dole won't rule out choosing a running mate who favors abortion rights, but he has promised not to pick anyone with inherited wealth. (So much for Christine Todd Whitman.) In light of this attitude, Dole's invocations of his personal history often seem like guilt trips: after all this service and sacrifice, we owe him the Presidency. Dole appeals to a self-flagellating streak among Baby Boomers who know they don't measure up to their parents' generation.

Mostly, though, Dole is relying on the party establishment to carry him over the finish line. He doesn't campaign much. When he does, he's accompanied by powerful friends: Gov. David Beasley, ex-Gov. Carroll Campbell, and Sen. John McCain put in appearances at almost every campaign stop in South Carolina. At a BMW plant to highlight the importance of free trade, Dole let his new best friend, Sen. Phil Gramm, do the talking. (Granted, Gramm tends to do the talking under most circumstances.) But his entourage isn't much more persuasive than he is. McCain told a high-school assembly, "When the pundits tell you that Bob Dole has no vision, set them straight. Tell them you know what his vision is. Tell them it's your vision."

In debates, Dole has to fend for himself. He started out well enough in South Carolina's debate, gently teasing his opponents. But then he managed, not for the first time, to get tangled up in an answer to a question about abortion—accidentally implying that he would prohibit it in cases of rape and then backtracking in a way that only confused matters more. He flubbed another answer because he hadn't paid attention to the question.

Dole's handling of the broader campaign debate over jobs and growth has also been disquieting for economic conservatives. He responded to the Forbes challenge by rejecting supply-side economics: "You can't say everybody under $36,000 pays no taxes, don't tax investment income, and everybody gets a tax cut. I'm not a rocket scientist, but I don't think that'll happen. Either you'll increase the deficit by about $200 billion a year or somebody pays higher taxes. . . . We're not going to let that happen in a Dole Administration, and you can count on it." The clear implication of Dole's words is that across-the-board tax cuts are inconceivable.

Now he's responding to Buchanan by trying to co-opt economic nationalism. Dole has been arguing that America doesn't need any new trade laws, it just needs to enforce the existing ones more

Roberto Parada

aggressively. During the South Carolina debate he said that he shouldn't have voted for NAFTA or GATT without making some changes. Dole's fair-trade rhetoric vitiates one of the strongest arguments for him over Buchanan. Along with the influence of trade lawyer Robert Lighthizer, Dole's campaign treasurer, it suggests that free-traders would have to keep their powder dry during a Dole Administration.

For all his flaws, Dole will almost certainly be the GOP nominee. He would probably have wrapped up the nomination a while ago if he had reassured conservatives about two "legacy issues": his Vice President and his judicial picks. Now the question on the minds of Republicans is whether he can beat Bill Clinton.

The Clinton team is full of confidence, boasting to the press that the election is already won. White House operatives plan to adopt Ronald Reagan's 1984 "Morning in America" campaign theme. The parallel works for the opposition party: the Republicans of 1996 resemble the Democrats of 1984 in certain respects. Alexander has played the role of Gary Hart, a fresh face with "new ideas." Buchanan has been the white Right's version of Jesse Jackson. And Bob Dole is the Walter Mondale of 1996. He's the party establishment's candidate. He has catered to, even abased himself before, the party's interest groups. But he doesn't inspire enthusiasm either within his party or among the public at large. Mondale recovered from a defeat in New Hampshire to win the nomination, as Dole probably will. And then Reagan demolished him in a historic landslide.

That's where the parallel breaks down: Bill Clinton is no Ronald Reagan. Most Americans thought the country was on the right track in 1984, and median family incomes were rising rapidly. Neither is true today. If he can hold Clinton responsible for an unacceptable status quo, Dole will win the election. The campaign doesn't fear that the primaries have destroyed party unity. "Every primary cycle I hear that same story," says campaign pollster Tony Fabrizio.

The outlines of Dole's general-election strategy can already be gleaned from his speeches. He attacks Clinton's vetoes of welfare reform, the balanced budget, and tax cuts. "Veto, veto, veto, that's all we've heard from this President," Dole said at a high-school rally. In a speech later that day, Dole added a final flourish: "Well, come November 1996 we're going to veto Bill Clinton!" Watch for Dole to adopt Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour's line that Clinton is the "say anything, do nothing" President.

Despite the distressing similarities to George Bush, Dole is more likely to go for the jugular in a campaign. He has proved his willingness to play hardball this year: he has scheduled votes to embarrass Phil Gramm, run deceptive ads against Steve Forbes, engaged in "push polling" (in which campaign workers trash rivals while pretending to conduct a poll) against Pat Buchanan. And Dole wants to win worse than Bush did in 1992. So Dole probably won't recapitulate all of Bush's errors. He may, however, make Republicans long for Bush's eloquence and passion. □

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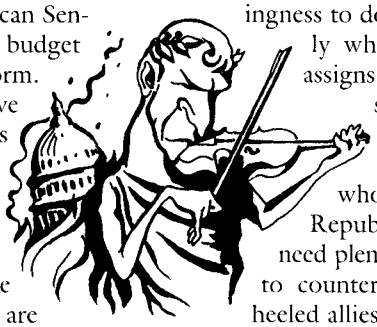
BREAD & CIRCUSES

FOR the remainder of the 104th Congress, Republicans have decided to take Lamar Alexander's advice: They're heading home. With an abbreviated congressional schedule (less than fifty legislative days through the balance of the year), there is little time —and heaven knows there's little appetite—for drawn-out battles with either Bill Clinton or the Republican Senate over racial preferences, budget cuts, or entitlement reform. House Republicans believe that last year's fruitless clashes with Clinton were politically costly, and they're pessimistic about the ability of likely nominee Bob Dole to articulate practically anything. They are convinced that their success in November depends on retailing their vision for reform in their own districts.



Newt Gingrich will take to the road to lead the sales team, leaving Majority Leader Dick Armey to oversee a much-reduced agenda in the House. Gingrich remains enormously popular among the rank and file, and he will make the case that there are two competing visions for America, highlighting Republicans' differences with Bill Clinton on taxes and the size and scope of government. Declining real incomes will be blamed on the "Clinton Crunch," which might sound like an ice-cream flavor but which has caught the middle class between higher taxes and a slowed economy. The GOP will contrast its vision of private-sector compassion, common-sense solutions, and public integrity with the Clinton record. The idea is that with Newt's troops adopting this self-help reelection strategy, the Republicans could recapture the White House on the strength of congressional coattails.

The hope is that the presidential nominee will adopt the same themes, but the GOP campaign to win the White House and hold the Congress is not dependent on the strength of its standard-bearer. "It will be a long time before we nominate someone more popular than our party and our principles," says Republican strategist Grover Norquist. After all, he notes, "We won in '94 without a presidential candidate." Norquist looks forward to an unprecedented team effort on the part of Republican candidates, including a requirement that incumbents in safe seats empty their coffers to run RNC ads and get-out-the-vote initiatives. Their willingness to do so will count heavily when Speaker Gingrich assigns committee chairmanships in the 105th Congress. Indeed, if it's to be Gingrich who does the assigning, Republican candidates will need plenty of generous friends to counter Bill Clinton's well-heeled allies.

Under its aggressive new leadership, the AFL-CIO will be meeting this month in Washington to approve a special assessment on its members to pay for stepped-up political activity. The additional 15 cents per union member per month will raise an estimated $25 million of the $35 million the unions have pledged to spend on a political-action effort of "unprecedented scale."

But this will be peanuts compared to the windfall the AFL-CIO will collect as a result of a new credit-card arrangement with Household International. This deal will provide the federation an estimated $375 million over the next five years, starting with a $50-million signing bonus this year.

But even if the Household deal were delayed, the AFL-CIO would have plenty of cash to allow it to dedicate $500,000 against each of the 75 unlucky Republican incumbents it has targeted. Indeed, the unions haven't waited for the campaigns to officially start before launching their own efforts.

Conservative freshman Randy Tate's office estimates that the unions, the environmentalists, the government-funded National Council of Senior Citizens, and the trial lawyers have spent about $400,000 in his Washington State district already. The assault has included radio and TV ads, phone calls, and flyers delivered door to door. Tate won in a tight contest in 1994, and his staff recently witnessed the effect of union resources in a close race right next door. "Without the unregulated, unreported activities of the unions, Gordon Smith would be our Oregon senator," declares Tate staffer Marjorie Strayer.

AFL-CIO President John Sweeney agrees: "The Oregon race provides a vital first chapter in a new textbook on politics we're going to write this year, as we build the core of a powerful new grass-roots movement."

The AFL-CIO hopes to have a hundred union activists in each congressional district "educating" the public and registering voters. Part of the unions' effort will include educating their own so as to avoid a repeat of 1994, when almost 40 per cent of union members voted for Republican candidates.

When Congress takes up campaign-finance reform this spring, there will be another attempt to prohibit political activity by federal contractors and grantees, but even in the unlikely event that Senate Republicans go along and Bill Clinton signs the reform, no prohibitions could take effect before the elections. The House Oversight Committee has scheduled hearings to determine whether the unions' election activities meet the "independent expenditure" test for permissible involvement. But even a congressional inquiry is unlikely to have a chilling effect on their campaign plans.

THE unions will provide crucial help for Bill Clinton. They will ask a lot in return. The AFL-CIO strenuously opposes Medicare and OSHA reforms and will oppose the governors' Medicaid and welfare proposals. Despite Clinton's reassurances that he too desires a balanced budget, spending restraint, and welfare reform, there is no chance that he will buck the unions—whose big bucks are the key to his re-election. Conservative rhetoric will disguise a liberal program.

To combat that, Republicans will need to do more than simply show themselves to the voters at home. Since they won't have many achievements to boast about, they will need popular issues that Clinton can't steal in order to divide the Democratic coalition and, above all, split union members off from union bosses. But such issues require political courage—and in today's newly fractured GOP that is in very short supply.

—KATE O'BEIRNE

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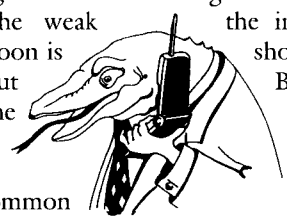
GEKKO

YOU can do pretty well by betting against economists, as I've proved in these pages before. Right now, they're all telling the fixed-income community that the weak economy means the bond swoon is baseless and temporary. But they seem to forget that the economic world lives in a political one, and that any person who hasn't had his common sense carefully excised in the course of getting a PhD in econometrics knows that the political risk to securities has risen sharply in the last few months. Right now, the extra basis points in the curve measure political risk; later they will represent an inflation premium. Either way, sell the rallies in the bond.



■ On that point, by the way, Jim Bianco at Arbor Trading reminds me that the last time we were in a recession that wasn't preceded by a stock-market correction was 1929. Which doesn't sound good—the first two quarters of this year are teetering in the direction of a decline in the GDP.

■ Who's the most skeptical about the privatization of Social Security? Labor unions? The bureaucracy? No—their people on President Clinton's Social Security Advisory Council are backing a partial privatization of the system.

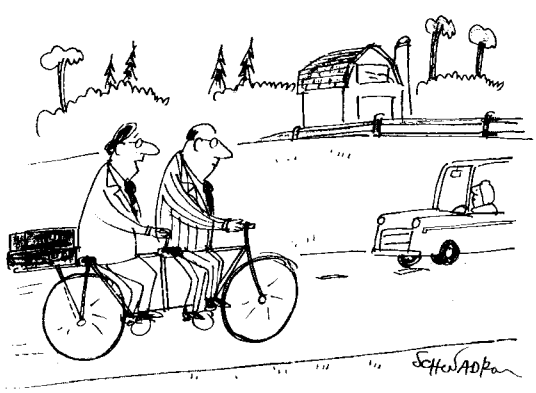
No, the most cynical people are on the very Street that stands to see a flow of fresh money. The rest of the country seems to take sustained high returns for granted, but my Wall Street friends talk about Social Security privatization as the ultimate sign of a top. You'd think that a 13-year-old bull market would induce overconfidence, but you'd be wrong.

Americans are inclined to ignore foreign, especially Third World, lessons, but the Chilean experience is pretty encouraging. Since 1981, when the Chilean social-security system was privatized, the compound annual return has been over 13 per cent. "They modeled it on a 5 per cent return," says the Cato Institute's Mike Tanner, "and they know that the return is going to regress at some point. But they're thinking of using the surplus to finance an end to the income tax." Now that's a show stopper.

But for the huge U.S. equity market, a 13 per cent annualized return is a fantasy—we'd own the nearby planets as well as the world by the time the Generation Xers retired. There is of course a way around this mathematical impossibility—a dramatic "correction" in the public equity markets. Hence Wall Streeters' cynicism. They think of Social Security as the ultimate odd-lot investor, bound to come in at the top.

Yes, Social Security does need to be privatized. The payroll taxes, forced savings, whatever you want to call them, should go into capital formation rather than financing the federal deficit. But keep your eye on the control issue. We could wind up with a strengthened free-enterprise system—or with a sort of fascistic, Washington-administered capital market.

The labor union/bureaucrat faction on the advisory committee thinks the cash ought to go into a government-administered index fund. The Cato Institute libertarians think accounts run by the individual beneficiaries are the way to go. But even Cato's Mike Tanner says, "Obviously there has to be an umbrella—they couldn't buy Singapore derivatives, for example." Oh really? So you couldn't buy warrants for Singapore Airlines stock, but go ahead and pour your money into the last Internet service provider to get in through the IPO window? Doesn't sound very libertarian—or sensible—to me.



"How about if business picks up—will we get our corporate jet back then, sir?"

■ You can have a calm debate with most traders about the presidential race. But mention the SOES Bandits and they start talking like Sonny Corleone. The SOES Bandits are independent speculators who are using the Small Order Execution System to enter rapid-fire orders to buy or sell stock from NASDAQ dealers who haven't updated their screens quickly enough.

The SOES was devised to allow small investors to have low-cost access to the NASDAQ market system. Orders are entered against dealers' prices posted on their screens. The problem comes when there are rapid price changes in a stock. If a dealer doesn't have the trading personnel to update his quotes, the SOES Bandits come in and enter orders against uneconomic stale quotes.

In a submission to Congress, Herzog, Heine & Geduld, one of the largest NASDAQ dealers, said that it has had to drop trading in 255 stocks since March 1995 in large part because of the losses caused by the SOES Bandits. Delta Pine & Land Company, a NASDAQ company, lost four of its eight market makers because the SOES Bandits had burned the others.

Richard Lindsey, the SEC's Director of Market Regulation, says, "Look, we're open to hearing the NASDAQ's case about the SOES operators. We adopted temporary rule changes that reduced SOES activity, but we had to suspend the new rules when we were ordered to do so by a federal court. If the NASDAQ dealer community wants us to do something about the SOES bandits, then they have to come up with an economic case that will hold up in court."

I am inclined to believe that Lindsey would indeed be open to argument. After all, he identifies himself as being "from the right side of the spectrum." And I would guess there is a case to be made against the (self-identified) SOES Bandits—but the work has to be done.

■ I hear Clinton's so sure of reelection he's started dating again.

—JOHN DIZARD

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ON THE SCENE

Visiting Contralandia

ELLIOTT ABRAMS

Alan Nahigian

NICARAGUA

ON our second day in Nicaragua, my wife and I visited the heart of "Contralandia," the northern town of Quilali, where the Nicaraguan peasants first rose up against the Sandinistas in 1980. Virtually all the men one meets, from teenagers to grizzled old farmers, are veterans of the Resistance. The Nicaraguan Army—its name changed from "Sandinista People's Army" last year but no less a tool of Sandinista hegemony for that—still views the northern provinces as rebellious and their residents as dangerous enemies.

The level of violence is high. And the level of poverty is horrifying. When the political decision was made to end the war, these ex-Contras were abandoned by our government; they were later betrayed by the post-Sandinista government of their own country. A series of promises was made to induce them to lay down their arms—promises of land and credit so that they could resume their previous lives as farmers. For the most part, these promises have been broken, and it is painful to see wounded veterans of the Cold War, our former allies and their families, living as they do today.

When my wife and I returned to Managua from our visit to these areas, we discovered something deeply revealing about Nicaragua's political, social, and economic elites: almost none of them had ever been to Quilali. It is a long and tough trip to do in one day; Rachel and I had risen at 4:30, left Managua at 5, and forded streams and plowed through mud to reach Quilali six hours later. But it's not exactly an impossible journey and *it is their country*.

In truth the peasant rebellion against the Sandinistas was a much greater uprising than the revolution against Somoza that began in 1974. That was a movement of the cities, of business and social elites, of urban youths, and of the armed leftist organizations that ultimately stole power. But revolutions of this sort had happened before in Latin America. Much more surprising, in historical terms, was a spontaneous peasant revolt against the power of the city. Somoza had largely left the peasants alone, content to rule in the cities. But Communist ideology instructed the Sandinistas to collectivize the land, crush the Church, and bring every inch of the country under party discipline. It was this ideology that the peasants decided to resist, at first alone and later with American help.

I had not been to Nicaragua in over two years, and my wife had never been and strongly wanted to see the place. Since my last visit, I had become president of the Nicaraguan Resistance Education Foundation, a small (alas!) charity that helps the Resistance veterans and their families try to return to normal lives.

The provinces where the Contras were strongest remain truly a distinct "Contralandia." The writ of the central government hardly extends up to these towns, where there are few schools or courts, hospitals or government offices. There is, of course, the army, but even the Sandinistas tread lightly in towns where all the men are ex-Contras.

What one journalist has called a "silent war" between the Sandinista army and the ex-Contras continues, however, impeding the return to pre-Sandinista levels of tranquillity and agricultural productivity. But the obstacles to normalization go deeper. The Contras were supposed to have laid down their arms and taken up their old lives. But many of them had spent their youths fighting and never learned to farm. Among those who did know how, many found, when they returned home after the negotiated peace in 1990, that their farms had been confiscated, collectivized, or otherwise disposed of; and very few received the credit they needed to turn fallow land into productive farms.

The Bush Administration knew this, but it wanted the Nicaragua controversy off the front pages and the Democratic Congress off its back. It was in no mood to fight for the Contras. In Managua, the new Chamorro government quickly began the course of accomodation toward the Sandinistas that it maintains to this day. Concern for the plight of the Contras would only have made trouble.

BUT IN Managua, there was more to it, as the lack of visitors to Quilali suggests. You have to look long and hard there to find a member of the nation's elite who is grateful to the former Resistance fighters for their sacrifices. A small number of very brave and principled men from Nicaragua's upper classes crossed the long divide between them and the country's *campesinos*—the late Aristides Sánchez was one such man, and his widow, Cecilia, remains true to his involvement with the Contras. A few prominent Nicaraguans stayed home and resisted the Sandinistas, at great personal risk—men like Enrique Bolaños, who headed the chief businessmen's organization (COSEP) in the worst Sandinista years.

Mr. Abrams, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, was Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs under Ronald Reagan. He is president of the Nicaraguan Resistance Education Foundation, a 501 (c) (3) charitable foundation (P.O. Box 96577, Washington, D.C. 20090-6577).

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NR West

Published in Conjunction with
The Claremont Institute

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Times & Misdemeanors

HAROLD JOHNSON

EVERY schoolchild—or at least every one who has seen Oliver Stone's latest cinematic self-indulgence—knows about Richard Nixon's notorious "last press conference," delivered after his loss to Pat Brown in the 1962 California governor's race. ("You won't have Nixon to kick around anymore," he predicted, with something less than Nostradamus-like prescience.) What is not so well remembered is that much of Nixon's venting on that occasion was directed at one particular media organ—the *Los Angeles Times*. Prominent *Times* writers, Nixon suggested, had reported relentlessly on his own campaign pratfalls while ignoring comparable blunders by his Democratic opponent.

Grousing about liberal bias at the *Times*, then, is nothing new. Those '90s conservatives—indeed, those fair-minded people of all stripes—who indulge in the sport these days should be pleased to know they're participating in a long and venerable tradition. In a surprising twist, however, the chorus of critics has lately been joined by prominent members of the very clan that founded and still owns a majority interest in the Gray Whale (as the *Times* is known to some of its admirers, along with some who aren't its admirers). Richard Dawson never presided over a family dust-up so entertaining—and so pregnant with hopeful possibility—as the public dissension that is rising up within the *Times*'s Chandler dynasty, in protest of the paper's identification with political liberalism and the cultural left.

FIRST, some background. Things weren't always the way they are now at the Temple on Spring Street. The *Los Angeles Times*, founded by General Harrison Gray Otis and nurtured by his son-in-law Harry Chandler, was for decades one of the nation's most right-wing newspapers, its columnists and political reporters often even maneuvering and becoming powerful in the Republican Party. The gradual shift toward an almost polar-opposite extreme, ending with the paper's identification as something of a house organ for Democratic liberalism, began in the late '50s when the health of publisher Norman Chandler, Harry's son, began to fail. His brother, Philip, thought to be next in line, was passed over in favor of Norman's son, Otis, who had a very different vision for the family patrimony. The new publisher soon telegraphed his independence—and stuck a thumb in his Uncle Philip's eye—by commissioning a scathing series on the John Birch Society, of which Philip and others on his side of the family were members.

Another early assertion of a new direction at Times Mirror Square came after the death in 1963 of the paper's longtime political cartoonist, Bruce Russell, who'd been a staunch conservative. The search for a replacement ended with the selection of a sardonic talent who deployed his ink most venomously against rightward-leaning Republicans. His name: Paul Conrad.

The *Times* flourished with the Southern California boom of the '60s, '70s and '80s. Philip's side of the family pretty much retreated from attempts at active involvement in management. Any family discontent along ideological lines was muffled as the business side went from strength to strength, yielding healthy dividends for family members of all philosophical and political persuasions. But the dynamics of the 1990s—with newspapers everywhere facing fiscal pressure, and with the *Times* in particular hit with readership and revenue declines in a troubled Southern California economy—have emboldened some of Philip Chandler's heirs to break their long silence.

The public candor of a couple of them is almost breathtaking. "We have the inmates running the asylum," Corinne Werdel of Bakersfield, Philip's daughter, complained to *Forbes* magazine a few months ago. Concerning the paper's editorial policies, she lamented,

(Continues on page West-4)

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WEST WORLD

■ Rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg was acquitted in Los Angeles of murder, despite being the driver of a car from which the fatal shots were fired at a gang member. No word yet on whether he'll devote the rest of his life to searching for the real killer.

■ For decades, the *Los Angeles Times*'s Paul Conrad has been drawing cartoons that are sacrilegious from a Jewish or Christian standpoint. (See "*Times* and Misdemeanors," page West-1.) Now *Dispatches*, a publication of the Western Journalism Center, has reported something astonishing that many casual readers of the *Times* probably didn't notice: Johnny Hart's syndicated comic strip *B.C.* did not appear in the paper on Christmas Day, evidently having been spiked by *Times* editors. Why? Apparently because of a small citation of *Luke* 2:10 which appeared between two of the strip's panels. Any reader who might have looked up this verse would have read: "And the angel said unto them, 'Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.'" The *Times* doesn't mind references to religion in its pages, so long as the references are neutral or disparaging. But to suggest that a reader learn something from a Biblical verse, that's just going too far.

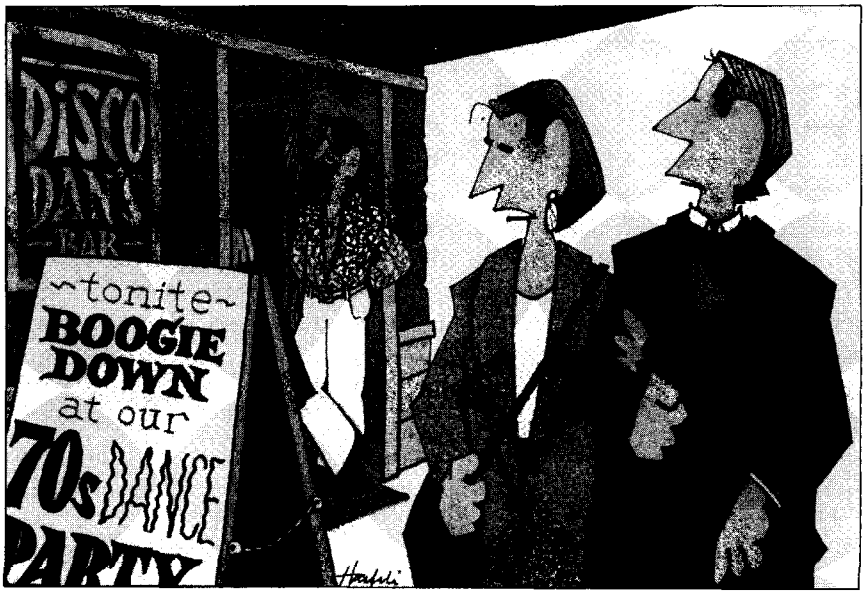
■ Any doubt that the President will make an unprecedented appeal for California's 54 electoral votes was removed, as "Caution: Clinton Crossing" signs started appearing at intersections around the state.

■ Beginning April 1, security guards will start patrolling the Golden Gate Bridge in an effort to prevent suicides. A special watch will be kept on members of San Franciscans for Ethics in City Government.

■ We reported last month that GOP-hired auditors in the California Assembly are having a hard time accounting for the money spent on in-house operations during the Willie Brown speakership. Recent reports are that at least $9 million in assets remain missing. "This place was run like Willie's private checkbook," one audit overseer has said. But is Mr. Brown, who is now the Emperor—er, Mayor—of San Francisco, worried? Far from it. In a candid interview with the editors of the *Sacramento Bee*, he remarked jovially: "It will take them five years just to figure out how I misallocated the resources of the house." You've almost gotta love this guy's pluck. Almost.

■ We hear Mayor Brown had to replace one of his rings because the lip prints on it were too firmly imprinted to be removed.

■ In the 1930s, cowboys, ranchers, and outdoor people of prominence, including Justice William O. Douglas, established a group called the Order of the Antelope. Early in its history, this group was successful in petitioning the Federal Government to establish the Hart Mountain Antelope Refuge in southeast Oregon. Until recently it held meetings on the refuge, where—according to a shocking exposé by the *Portland Oregonian*—members practiced such outlandish behavior as drinking liquor, eating rare meat, urinating behind trees, and talking "dirty." No women were ever invited, nor did any express a desire to attend. The Federal Fish and Wildlife Service reacted to this exposé by banning these meetings on federal land. At the same time, this indignant agency called a halt to all cattle-grazing on the refuge. Now four years have passed, and the intended beneficiary of these actions—the Hart Mountain antelope herd—has dwindled to the point where there were only eight surviving births last spring. There are two main reasons. One, the cattle used to eat the old, dead grass, so that new grass could come up. Antelopes just eat new grass. Two, since the antelope herd has been weakened, and has fewer large members to shield the young from coyotes, the latter have taken a significant toll. In response, the feds started shooting coyotes from helicopters and setting fires to burn off dead grass. Predictably, animal-rights advocates howled and the coyote-shoots have ended. Studies have been ordered. Meanwhile the antelope herd continues to decline. Call us dinosaurs, but we recom-



"I guess the '70s are the '50s of the '90s."

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mend inviting back the rough-talking, hard-drinking Order of the Antelope, reopening the land to cows, and using the grazing fees to hire someone with common sense at Fish and Wildlife.

■ As for another of Fish and Wildlife's projects—the reintroduction of wolves to various Western locations which had rid themselves of the same a half century ago—the project leader rates it, so far, an "unqualified success." Tell this to Chad McKittrick of Red Lodge, Montana, who was just sentenced to six months in prison for killing a wolf which had strayed from Yellowstone Park, and which he looked on as a threat to his livestock. We guess in the eyes of Fish and Wildlife, McKittrick doesn't even rate as a qualification. Far from feeling his pain, project members gushed that the mate of the animal McKittrick shot has just given birth to eight pups and taken up with a younger wolf. Meanwhile Montana's Senator Conrad Burns—who takes the older-fashioned view of wolves—is trying to slash the reintroduction program's budget by $200,000. Its staff has already lost three members to budget cuts. Not to prison, though. More's the pity.

■ Nobody's killing wolves—or any other animals—in the movies. Not with the American Humane Association on the job. An AHA representative on one recent movie set looking after some trout—making sure they had fresh water, kept at just the right temperature, over a three-day period—single-handedly prevented an end-of-shooting fish fry. One insider has been quoted as saying that the same kind of protection is given to bugs: "You walk onto the set with ten thousand cockroaches, you walk out with ten thousand cockroaches." Can you imagine the uproar if a watchdog group gave half the thought to the well-being of moviegoers that's currently given to that of trout and roaches—and tried to influence filmmakers accordingly? But that would be "censorship."

■ Over a million voters' signatures were duly submitted to place the anti-affirmative action California Civil Rights Initiative on the state's November ballot—more than the roughly 700,000 signatures required by law. And affirmative action is definitely shaping up to be the controversial issue of the year in the Golden State. The day before Gov. Wilson and Ward Connerly, the head of the initiative campaign, announced the completion of the signature drive, Connerly was attacked at a state Senate hearing by Los Angeles Senator Diane Watson, who accused Connerly, who is black, of "[wanting] to be white," citing his marriage to a white woman. Meanwhile the governor had just completed a showdown with University of California President Richard Atkinson—who is opposed to last July's decision by the UC Board of Regents to roll back affirmative action in the UC system—over implementing that decision. At issue was whether liberal administrators or the taxpayers' representatives will set UC administrative policy. Atkinson backed down and promised to follow orders. But there's more than enough rancor left to go around, and the 1996 campaign should be enlivened by it.

■ Former UCLA and Laker superstar Kareem Abdul-Jabbar is on a tour promoting a book called *Profiles in Black Courage*. Along the way, he is attempting to set the record straight about Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam: "He is part of the problem, not part of the solution. He is a demagogue taking advantage of misery in the black community," Kareem told one college audience, going on to call America "the greatest country in the world." *Fan*tastic. Maybe he'll take the next step and condemn the mainstream "civil-rights leaders," like Diane Watson and Jesse Jackson, who share Farrakhan's contempt for America and encourage racial self-consciousness. A recent reminder of the fruits of their approach was a huge melee between black and Hispanic students at Locke High School in South Central L.A., which some teachers attributed to growing resentment at February being designated Black History Month. Standing up to this divisiveness, and for America, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar may someday earn a chapter in a later edition of his book.

■ Randy Mehringer's father was a career officer in the Los Angeles Police Department, and Randy decided to follow suit. Having graduated third in his class at the academy and put in two thousand quality hours of duty as a reserve officer, he looked to be a shoo-in. That was before an LAPD interviewer asked Mehringer if he had ever told a racial joke, and he admitted to having shared one with some friends regarding Minister Farrakhan's so-called Million Man March last October. This earned him a letter denying his application to the LAPD, citing insufficient "respect for others." We'd bet the farm that 60 per cent of Americans, policemen or not, black or white or other, have told similar jokes. On the other hand, Mehringer probably should have known better than to admit it. After all, he had logged two thousand hours, and the year 2000 is four years off. Four plus 38—the caliber of a standard policeman's sidearm—is 42. Four plus two is six. Including his middle initial, Mehringer's name contains six syllables. It also rhymes with derringer. Yancy Derringer, who was a Freemason, lived in New Orleans, also known as the Crescent City. Crescent spelled backwards is tnecserc. Pronounced phonetically, this is the ancient Egyptian word for the A-Tone. The A-Tone is followed by the B-Tone. Mehringer was B-Tone out of his job by his own honesty. He should book a C-Tone the next flight out of L.A. and find a police force that deserves him.

■ Hong Kong is obviously gearing up for transition to Chinese rule: a team from its Airport Authority recently visited Denver International, studying it as a model for how to proceed with Hong Kong's own new airport construction. That will serve the Chinese right.

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JOHNSON
(Continued from page West-1)

"They're so far out in left field." She and her brother, Jeffrey Chandler, assert that the paper's political tilt has contributed to its financial woes. Arguably the ideological baggage is especially harmful in the prime circulation battlefields of Orange County and the San Fernando Valley, where liberal enthusiasms aren't as widely entertained, to put it mildly, as in diehard-*Times* neighborhoods on L.A.'s West Side.

For the family's conservatives, the days of keeping their political diversity under their caps are over. Says Werdel: "Don't let anybody know we disagree? Well, it hasn't worked out very well. The results are what we're faced with now: a disastrous business situation."

STANDARDS UNDER SIEGE

Dumb & Dumber

PUBLIC-SCHOOL educators commonly complain that, like Rodney Dangerfield, they "get no respect." But instead of blaming the taxpaying public, they should look to themselves, and to the liberal lawyers and teachers' unions who go to the mat to protect mediocrity in their profession.

The latest effort to further dumb down standards in public schools was recently on display in a Federal District Court in San Francisco, where a group of minority educators is suing the state over the California Basic Educational Skills Test (CBEST). This test requires educators to demonstrate a minimum eighth to tenth grade-level proficiency in reading, writing, and mathematics before they are allowed to teach.

The sin of CBEST is that minorities fail it at a disproportionate rate. Of first-time test-takers, 88 per cent of whites pass, compared to 38 per cent of African Americans, 49 per cent of Latinos, and 53 per cent of Asians. (The numbers improve dramatically for repeat test-takers.) This prompted Public Advocates, Inc., a San Francisco public-interest law firm, to file the nation's largest employment-discrimination lawsuit.

Applying what Shelby Steele calls "automated racism," the plaintiffs employ circular reasoning to assert that any gap in pass rates is proof of the test's cultural bias. "It has a Eurocentric viewpoint," asserts John T. Affeldt, the lead attorney for Public Advocates, which stands to rake in more than $2 million if its lawsuit prevails. Affeldt cites a strong correlation between race and test performance, but he provides only one actual example of a biased question. When CBEST supporters suggest the obvious—that the gaps reflect a decrepit public-education system and the relaxed admissions and grading standards at many universities and colleges—they are labeled racist.

The lead attorney defending CBEST, Lawrence Ashe Jr., likens recent teacher test results to a thermometer that registers 105 degrees. "The plaintiffs are giving the state two options: Declare 105 degrees to be the new normal temperature or throw the thermometer out," says Ashe. "We want to treat the fever as quickly and safely as possible."

CBEST has three sections: math, reading, and writing. Our future teachers must answer approximately 70 per cent of the questions correctly—a standard which Affeldt asserts is unreasonably high!—and write two essays. Test-takers get up to four hours to complete the test and can repeat it up to six times a year. The scores on the test are cumulative; it can be passed piecemeal, one section at a time.

Nor are we talking mindbenders. All geometry and most algebra questions already have been stricken from the test. A sample math question: "Amy drinks 1.5 cups of milk three times a day. At this rate, how many cups of milk will she drink?" The answers are given in multiple-choice format.

At stake in this lawsuit is the integrity of the teaching profession, the education of our children, and the question of whether any professional or safety standard that yields different results for different racial groups will be allowed to stand.

Unbelievably, the California Teachers' Association (CTA) filed a brief in favor of the plaintiffs. Mary Bergan, president of the California Federation of Teachers (CFT), claims her union has always supported CBEST and calls the CTA's position "unfortunate." The CFT hasn't gotten involved in this case, however, because "we were concerned about sending a message to minority applicants that we are quite anxious to bring into the profession," says Bergan.

Those most damaged by this case are teachers who have worked hard to meet the standards, especially minorities, who are now undermined by a group of yahoos arguing that they shouldn't be expected to meet the same standards as whites. These teachers have borrowed a page straight from the racist's playbook. The notion that minorities can't perform at the same level as whites is something many people have labored long and hard to dispel.

Clearly, the children in California's public schools need more instruction in the basics. Performing only a little worse than first-time CBEST takers, more than 70 per cent of the state's high-school sophomores demonstrated "limited . . . little or no mathematical thinking" on a recent achievement test. Perhaps the students should sue. This is the message their so-called role models are sending.

FINALLY there is the legal precedent this case could set. The plaintiffs argued and the judge has agreed that CBEST is not a general certification test, but an employment test. This ruling made CBEST subject to the disparate-impact doctrine, which declares that if minorities fail in disproportionate numbers, the test must be biased against them. Imagine if this logic is applied to other areas. Some minorities fail the second-year medical-board test, which is required of all medical students, at rates far disproportionate to whites. Should we do away with this test? How about pilots? Lawyers? Accountants?

Not to say that the logic is any more acceptable when applied to teachers. If the plaintiffs in this case prevail, it will be a serious blow to public education. Arguments in the case won't be wrapped up until June and a decision isn't expected until late summer. For our children's sake, let's hope sanity prevails.

—MICHAEL LYNCH

Mr. Lynch is a public-policy fellow at the Pacific Research Institute.

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Jeffrey Chandler cites what he considers slanted coverage of product-liability suits, and reporting that suggests manufacturers deliberately place polluting factories in low-income communities, as emblematic of an anti-business bent. (Ironically, Otis Chandler himself, speaking to a group of advertisers in 1976, said, "Journalists are well-meaning but abysmally ignorant of how business and our capitalist, free-enterprise system works.")

PHILIP'S heirs have pressed for management changes in the paper's parent organization, the Times Mirror Company, and they've gotten their wish with the appointment of former General Mills executive Mark H. Willes as CEO. Willes is slicing at fatted payrolls. But as for Jeffrey Chandler's hope for an end to reporting he sees as biased, "There is no evidence that anyone on the editorial side of the newspaper is listening," observes the *New York Times*, which has reported with interest on this West Coast saga. While the *Times* did endorse Pete Wilson for governor in 1994, this tentative tiptoe back toward the political center—reportedly ordered by publisher Richard Schlosberg III—is said to have sparked fireworks of outrage among newsroom and editorial-page staff.

Few are the American newspapers where some brand of liberalism isn't ascendant, but the virus that grips the *Times* may be uniquely entrenched. Consider a few particulars:

—A computer search for the word "ultraconservative" appearing in the *Times* over the past decade yielded more than 475 references, while "ultraliberal" appeared just 27 times. "Archconservative" turned up 176 times. "Archliberal"? Twice.

—The paper endorsed Gov. Wilson's 1991 proposal to increase the state sales tax and extend it to a variety of items previously not covered; but later, after the Legislature had complied, *Times* lobbyists tried to win newspapers an exemption from this tax.

—In 1994, *Times* editors put forward a 19-page list of terms to be avoided on grounds of ethnic or gender sensitivity. The words that were to be banned—until the whole enterprise was scuttled after becoming a public laughing-stock—included "lame," "crazy," and "man-made."

—Environmental reporter Marla Cone is "basically a stenographer for the most zealous wing of the environmental movement," laments attorney Hugh Hewitt, a conservative political commentator and member of the board of directors of the South Coast Air Quality Management District. Certainly there is little critical analysis of the overreaching by the state's smog agencies and the thousands of job losses that have resulted.

—The L.A. riots following the original Rodney King verdicts threw the paper's skewed perspectives into bold relief, as Scott Shuger, a contributing editor of the *Washington Monthly*, pointed out in an article for the *Wall Street Journal*. A long story on the widespread trashing of stores was headlined, "When Wrong and Right Blur: Looting Assumes Trappings of Justice if System is Seen as Failing, Experts Say." Columnist Robin Abcarian, writing about a mob's looting of an upscale home in Venice while a terrified babysitter and young child were inside, termed the event "the wages of gentrification."

"When I was doing talk radio, I did frequent broadcasts on the *Los Angeles Times*," recalls Hugh Hewitt. "And the depth of the antipathy of the average Californian to the newspaper's news coverage is extraordinary. People understand the *Times* to be non-objective and completely partisan, not only in its political reporting but in its economic and environmental coverage."

HEWITT doesn't hold out tremendous hope that even fed-up Chandler family members can force improvements—"not unless there are sweeping changes of personnel at the paper." Indeed, journalism may be one of society's most conservative institutions, in the sense of being resistant to change, especially when that change is suggested by outsiders.

But at least there are members of the Chandler brood who recognize something's wrong at the family store, are courageous enough to say so publicly, and are trying to work a remedy. Says Hewitt: "If they're even marginally successful, all California will be better off for their efforts." □

Mr. Johnson is an editorial writer for the Orange County Register.

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NEW D.A. BREAKS THE MOLD

Red Son Rising

BRIAN T. KENNEDY

IT SEEMS to be a given these days that conservative ideas are ascendant. Thus President Clinton hopes to win re-election by borrowing from the rhetoric of Ronald Reagan. And in California Senator Dianne Feinstein, a likely future gubernatorial candidate, is talking more like a Republican than like her Democratic colleague Barbara Boxer. But San Francisco marches to a different drummer. Consider its newly elected District Attorney, Terence Hallinan.

Formerly a San Francisco County Supervisor, Hallinan ran on a platform of liberalizing the city's prostitution laws, looking the other way on "nonviolent crimes" such as drug use and vagrancy, increasing selectivity on "three strikes" prosecutions, and as a champion of what he describes on his Web page as "transgender rights." No "New Democrat" he. Which came as no surprise to those familiar with his background.

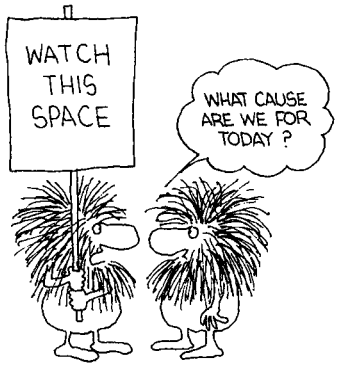
Terence Hallinan comes from a family that has been at the center of left-wing politics in the Bay Area for over a half century. His father, Vincent, ran for President in 1952 as the candidate of the Progressive Party and was the lawyer for Harry Bridges—the militant head of the powerful International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, who was tried in 1950 on perjury charges for lying about being a Communist Party member when he immigrated from Australia. One of Terence's brothers, Patrick, is a well-known San Francisco defense lawyer who was acquitted last year of racketeering and drug-laundering charges in connection with his client, drug lord Ciro Mancuso. Another brother, Conn, a journalism professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz, was at one-time the associate editor of the Communist *People's World*.

Mr. Kennedy is Director of the Claremont Institute's Golden State Center.

Terence himself, nicknamed Kayo since his boxing days as a youth, was a ward of the Marin County Juvenile Court by the time he was 17, having pled guilty to charges of petty theft and battery. At 18 he pled guilty to assault and battery after severely beating the owner of a ski lodge, who had objected to Hallinan's and his comrades' rowdy behavior. After being acquitted of similar charges four years later, he turned to fighting for social causes, spending the late 1950s and early '60s organizing Marxist study groups and participating in various protests.

In 1962, M. Stanton Evans and his fellow NATIONAL REVIEW editors wrote *The Committee and Its Critics: A Calm Review of the House Committee on Un-American Activities*. Evans recounted the 1960 San Francisco riots in opposition to HUAC, which was holding hearings in the city. These riots, according to both the FBI and a sub-committee of the California legislature, primarily involved students organized by Communist Party agitators. Evans noted that the sons of Vincent Hallinan and two others made up one of the principal groups involved.

When Terence Hallinan graduated at age 28 from Hastings College of Law and passed the bar, he was denied his license on grounds of bad character. He later appealed that decision and won. During his subsequent career as a defense attorney he followed in his father's footsteps and took on high profile cases: mass murderer Juan Corona, heiress-turned-terrorist Patty Hearst (before F. Lee Bailey took the case over), and Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver.



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Hallinan was elected in 1988, on his third try, to the S.F. County Board of Supervisors, and was sworn in by his father Vincent. He said at the time that he subscribed to his father's political philosophy, but was more moderate. He used his position as Supervisor to promote the same causes mentioned above: liberalized prostitution laws, vagrants' rights, gay rights, etc. It was because he was up against term limits that he decided to run for D.A.

Hallinan forged a Democratic coalition that included former Mayor Art Agnos, Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, three of his fellow Supervisors, the major trade unions, the National Organization for Women, the city's major homosexual groups, the San Francisco Tenants Union, and the Black Leadership Forum. During the campaign he admitted having used marijuana, but denied that he once almost died from a heroin overdose at the hands of Janis Joplin, as reported by her biographer Ellis Amburn.

UPON taking office in January, Hallinan fired 14 of his 116 deputy district attorneys. Most of these had backed his opponent. Although he denied that the firings were political, it was clear that this was the first step in restructuring the prosecutor's office in his own image.

In this age of managerial "New Democrats" who talk right and govern left, Terence Hallinan is a throwback to more colorful—and straightforward—times. Imagine a big city D.A. finding the time to organize a rally to protest against the Bushmills distillery in Northern Ireland for allegedly failing to hire Catholics. (This protest was supposed to involve pouring large quantities of Bushmills whiskey down the drain in front of the swank Gino & Carlo bar. The barkeep, though, refused to donate more than one bottle, so the rally fizzled.) The flip side of such amusing spectacles, of course, is a big-city D.A. with his own peculiar ideas about whom—and whom not—to prosecute, regardless of the law.

In the long run, it's doubtful the former will be worth the latter to the city by the bay. □

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STUDENTS AGAINST PIRGS

Fees Fi Fo Fum

JIM CHRISTIE

TWO cases pending in the U.S. District Court in Oregon will determine if students there can be forced to pay fees that go to political causes they oppose. The Sacramento-based Pacific Legal Foundation (PLF) is representing students at Eugene's Lane Community College, while Portland's Stoel Rives law firm is handling a similar case at the University of Oregon. Both cases concern fees that go to the Oregon Public Interest Research Group (OSPIRG).

The plaintiffs in *Hollingsworth* v. *Lane Community College* believe that contributions to OSPIRG should be voluntary. Sharon L. Browne, their lead attorney, points out that OSPIRG "is not an educational activity. It's political in nature and should be done on a student's own time if that's what they want." Her legal argument, submitted last October, is that mandatory fees for OSPIRG violate students' rights "under the First and Fourteenth Amendments to freedom of speech and association."

Evidence in the case includes OSPIRG literature crowing that "Student fee moneys have enabled OSPIRG to hire a staff of professional organizers, lobbyists, and researchers to help them find effective solutions to problems facing society." The literature further claims that "OSPIRG has become the most effective advocacy group in Oregon, working on a variety of issues: environmental protection, consumer rights, hunger relief, and good government."

The plaintiffs point out that "OSPIRG has worked to pass over 11 bills in the Oregon State Legislature," that it has been involved with voter-registration drives and postcard-writing campaigns to elected officials, and that it recently informed Congress that "students will not support the legislation proposed in the Republican Party's Contract With America."

Arguments are similar in the second Oregon case against OSPIRG, *Rounds* v. *The Oregon State Board of Higher Education*. *Rounds* attorney Clarence Belnavis reasons that "you can't force somebody to subsidize somebody else's position," irrespective of what that position is.

These Oregon cases are essentially replays of the 1993 case of *Smith* v. *Regents of the University of California*. In *Smith*, students at Berkeley objected to mandatory fees going to the California Public Interest Research Group (CalPIRG)—fees that were then disbursed to groups like Berkeley Students for Peace, Campus NOW, and Students for Economic Democracy. The California Supreme Court held in the students' favor. As a result, the University of California system now collects fees for CalPIRG through voluntary contributions.

But there has been a new development which the PIRG network and its supporters hope to use both defensively, in the Oregon cases, and offensively, to undermine *Smith*. This was last year's United States Supreme Court decision in *Rosenberger* v. *Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia*, which found that the University had improperly denied funds for the printing of a student Christian group's publication. The high court said this amounted to "content discrimination" and "regulating speech when a specific motivating ideology or opinion or perspective of the speaker is the rationale for the restriction."

David Wood, general counsel for the Boston-based Fund for Public Interest Research and the attorney who initially represented OSPIRG, sees *Rosenberger* as a godsend to defenders of mandatory student-fee arrangements. Already the University of California system's deputy counsel is drafting new guidelines based on *Rosenberger*—thus revising guidelines based on *Smith*—to the applause of PIRG advocates. Similarly, Don Corson, OSPIRG's current attorney in *Rounds*, is turning the argument of the student plaintiffs on its head: a court order enjoining universities from disbursing student fee moneys to OSPIRG, he claims, would violate *OSPIRG*'s First and Fourteenth Amendment rights. And Gregory Skillman, representing OSPIRG in *Hollingsworth*, has written: "Once the state decides they're going to fund student groups, they can't pick and choose because they like the politics of one group and dislike the politics of another group."

PLF President Bob Best says these arguments miss the message of the *Rosenberger* decision: "The issue of OSPIRG is the extraction of student fees, not the issue of government agencies' duty to dispense fees."

Let's face it. The issue is obvious to those who think that one American shouldn't be forced to fund another American's political agenda. What does this say about PIRG activists and, more disturbingly, their agents in America's colleges and universities? □

Mr. Christie is a freelance writer in Seattle, Washington.

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The Big Uneasy

WHILE rock climbing recently at Malibu Beach, I was struck by the great feeling of security we in the West have when it comes to international bad guys. True enough, Iran and Iraq are obnoxious. Yes, Russia is turning red again. And Bosnia is a mess. But so what? From atop a cliff, I could see the Pacific Ocean, a perfect metaphor for our perception of foreign affairs. But this perception is misleading—and potentially dangerous. In fact, the western United States is becoming the new battleground for nuclear terror.

In early January, Charles Freeman, a former U.S. Ambassador to China and Assistant Secretary of Defense, was warned by Chinese officials in Beijing that China was preparing for military action against Taiwan. This provocation comes on the heels of well-documented acts of aggression by China, including, as recently as last July, six ballistic missiles launched against a target 85 miles north of Taiwan. Furthermore, Freeman was told that in the ongoing dispute with Taiwan, China would be willing to sacrifice millions of its citizens; and he was pointedly asked, would the United States be willing to sacrifice Los Angeles? This is an outrageous nuclear threat against the United States. And although typical of Communist dictators, the threat is credible.

The threat also has precedent in the post-Cold-War period. Only a year earlier, North Korea made similar threats against Japan and South Korea, where American forces are stationed. More ominous still is the fact that the North Korean government is developing a ballistic missile which may soon have intercontinental range. When deployed, this missile system will be capable of reaching the western United States. Intelligence sources estimate that it could be deployed within five to eight years.

What is the official Washington reaction to these and other (unspoken) threats? Mixed. While Congress has been assiduously trying to fund and deploy a limited ballistic missile-defense system, the President and his security policy team have been fiddling with out-dated, Cold War theories of deterrence that eschew defense. In other words, they still adhere to the aberrant policy of Mutual Assured Destruction.

Last summer Congress passed the Missile Defense Act of 1996, requiring the Secretary of Defense to certify that the entire United States can be protected either by one or more anti-ballistic missile sites. The 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty allows for only one such site, so this Act may have required some modification to the Treaty. Still, it did not envisage a comprehensive missile-defense program—only one that would protect the United States from the kind of limited attacks more likely to occur in the post-cold-war era.

Regardless, President Clinton vetoed the Defense Appropriations bill containing the Missile Defense Act. He did so believing that the ABM Treaty is the cornerstone of our relationship with Russia. Though both the Reagan and Bush Administrations rejected the Russian position, which links progress on strategic-arms control with continued adherence to the ABM Treaty, the Clinton team agrees with the Russians. Thus it is actively willing to continue absolute U.S. vulnerability to Russia, and apparently now to China, and soon to North Korea, not to mention anyone else who may care to acquire these sophisticated weapons.

Herein lies another problem. If the U.S. deploys missile defenses, the Russians threaten to stop negotiating a new arms-control agreement and pull out from existing agreements. But at the same time, the Clinton Administration has allowed Russia to change some of the terms of previous treaties. The most serious change came in November 1995, when the U.S. allowed Russia to sell its SS-25 modern ballistic missile as a space-launch vehicle to the rest of the world. Now any nation with enough pocket change can acquire advanced ballistic missiles.

THE Russians are also trying to renegotiate the ABM Treaty to limit even non-strategic missile defenses, arguing that no missile-defense system that even has the remote capability to intercept a strategic ballistic missile can be tested. In effect, non-strategic missile-defense systems that could protect vulnerable U.S. troop deployments overseas may soon be regulated by the ABM Treaty, which was explicitly designed for strategic defenses only.

For the most part, the Clinton Administration simply discounts nuclear threats against the United States. Against Russia, it has either ignored, allowed, or weakly resisted its efforts to sell ballistic missiles and nuclear technology abroad. With an air of liberal paternalism, it now insists that China is merely behaving badly. In reality, it believes, China would neither attack Taiwan nor use nuclear weapons against the United States. In short, the Administration still embraces the idea that our mere possession of nuclear weapons will ensure that they will never be used against us.

Belated attempts to resist nuclear blackmail will ring hollow. Without some measure of protection against a nuclear attack, there is no credibility to American bravado. So long as the President fiddles with out-dated deterrence theories, Los Angeles and other Western cities face the real threat of burning. It is time to erect a missile-defense system. And get back to rock climbing.

—MARK T. CLARK

Mr. Clark is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the National Security Studies Program at California State University, San Bernardino.

"No major crimes, tragedies, or catastrophes—what a lousy day!"

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But the more typical reaction in Managua is still to see those *campesinos*, peasants, as marginal to the "real" life of the society. The notion of *campesinos* as central actors in Nicaraguan life is, in the "best" circles in Managua, rejected.

The class factor is now astonishingly visible in the elite's resistance to Arnoldo Alemán, Managua's popular mayor, who has resigned to run for President this year. Alemán leads in all the polls, and everyone agrees that he has been a fine mayor. So why is most of Nicaragua's elite against him? "He's fat," people say, wrinkling their noses. Yes, Alemán is overweight, and doesn't dress sleekly, and has slightly darker skin than the upper classes.

But there's something else that goes unmentioned: he's tough on the Sandinistas. He doesn't mouth the language of "reconciliation" that so often means little more than accommodation to Sandinista threats. In the eyes of the many businessmen who made their arrangements with the Sandinistas, this is another sin. Indeed, there are those in the U.S. Government who express concern about Alemán's "confrontationist" attitudes.

In fact, it is precisely his tough attitude toward the Sandinistas and his "common man" background and comportment that make him popular. He needs 45 per cent of the votes in October to win the presidential election in the first round, and polls now show him with over 40. Daniel Ortega is down around 20. So how will Alemán be stopped? The fear expressed repeatedly in Managua is that the Sandinistas will kill him, and as one diplomat told me, "Don't think for a moment that they've stopped physically eliminating people." In fact, Alemán has already faced one violent attack that resulted in the death of his bodyguard. Was it an assassination attempt, or mere banditry? Alemán can't be sure.

THE Sandinistas are still able to act with impunity, and to protect the property they stole while they were running Nicaragua. Humberto Ortega, who led the army until last year, is one of the country's richest men, with a fortune estimated at $95 million. For the murders that rocked Nicaragua—from that of former Contra commander Enrique Bermúdez, to that of the man who led the movement of citizens trying to reclaim their stolen properties (Arges Sequeira), to that of a teenage boy (Jean-Paul Genie) whose crime was to pass Humberto Ortega's car on his motorbike—no one has ever been punished.

But the Resistance fighters have not been totally betrayed and abandoned. One organization is dedicated to protecting their human rights, helping them adjust to new lives, and alleviating their poverty: the Organization of American States's Commission on Assistance and Verification (CIAV). The CIAV is an extraordinary group of mostly Argentine and Uruguayan civil servants utterly dedicated to their jobs, working with great efficiency and effectiveness to help the former Contras and their families. They have the full support of the American Embassy, and their projects have been funded by the OAS, this funding being supplemented, in some cases, by aid from the European Community.

We visited, for example, housing projects where groups of ex-Contras were given some building materials and, with the help of a skilled foreman, are now constructing their own houses. The men all work together, as a team; when all the houses are built, a lottery will determine which family gets which house. These primitive houses are roughly 30 feet square; they have window openings, but no glass; there is no electricity or running water. In the center of the community, there will usually be a well; back behind the houses are the outhouses. But having a floor that is concrete instead of dirt and a tin roof that really keeps the rain out is a tremendous improvement for these Resistance families. It is a sad irony that foreigners have far greater understanding and respect for the *campesinos* than do so many leaders of their own country.

What does the future hold for the former Resistance fighters? The CIAV is supposed to leave in June, but efforts are now under way to extend its stay at least through what could be a turbulent election year. This extension is absolutely essential. But it will only delay the inevitable departure. And then what?

It is very clear that the Contras will need to fight for themselves again, this time in Nicaragua's political system. From among the Contra ranks a few leaders have emerged. Some of these, as is the way of such things, have turned out to be foolish or corrupt, but others are very impressive. José Angel Talavera, whose *nom de guerre* was "Chacal," the Jackal, led the group of Contras who in 1994 returned to the hills to fight once more against the way they and their former colleagues were being treated, the way the promises made to them were being broken. Talavera was one of five brothers, but two of them, and their father, were killed by the Sandinistas during the Contra war. He is a natural leader, and trusted by his former comrades in arms.

Talking with him about his life and his desires for his men, I could not help wondering if he will meet the same fate as Bermúdez, who was also a natural leader of the former Resistance fighters and paid for that fact with his life. For men like Talavera and even Arnoldo Alemán, Nicaragua remains a dangerous place.

VISITING the Resistance fighters was a powerfully emotional experience, as it had been when I first visited in 1993. The expressions of gratitude for what I had done on behalf of the Resistance, from men who had lost arms or legs or eyes, or sons and brothers, were overwhelming. Ronald Reagan once compared the Contras to our Founding Fathers, but he wasn't quite right. The better comparison is with the French Resistance, which, though it involved only a minority of the population, also saved its nation's honor.

Some day, when an accurate version of Nicaragua's history in the 1980s is written, the world will realize that while many Nicaraguans made their deals with Sandinismo, a small group of *campesinos* resisted and fought the imposition of Communism in Nicaragua. They had help from the United States, and from the best of their countrymen, but it was the peasants who saved the country. One cannot see the poverty in which they live, the insecurity that surrounds them, without wincing. They were our allies, and we encouraged them to risk their lives in their fight; then we pressured them to drop their guns and go home in a Nicaragua where only the Sandinistas would be armed; and then, with Nicaragua off the front pages, we made their fate a small and inconsequential item on the list of our national priorities.

While their misery does not shame them, it should shame us. A visit to Contralandia finds men and women who are used to fighting for survival and undaunted by the struggle. But their indomitable spirit only underscores our own responsibilities—and our failure to meet them. □

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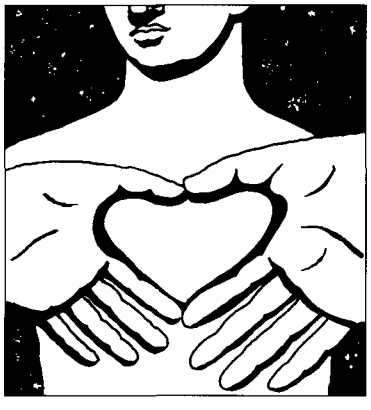
THE AMERICA WE SEEK

A Statement of Pro-Life Principle and Concern

Americans are conducting the sixth presidential election campaign since the Supreme Court decreed a virtually unlimited "right" to abortion in Roe *v.* Wade *and its companion case,* Doe *v.* Bolton. *Over the past 23 years, the abortion debate has been about abortion, of course; but it has also been a debate about the kind of society America is and seeks to be. Throughout our national history, few issues have so sharply focused attention on the fundamental purposes of the American democratic experiment. For, in the abortion debate, we are required to confront an urgent moral issue: Who is to be included in the community of the commonly protected?*

The following statement of principle, endorsed by a broad spectrum of pro-life organizational leaders and scholars, is the result of consultations held over the past several months at the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C. The statement aims to clarify the principles on which the pro-life movement stands, to articulate a pro-life vision of the American future, and to suggest a set of political, legal, and cultural strategies that are capable of translating that vision into reality. The signatories, who join the statement as individuals, offer this statement to the public in the hope that it will raise the level of public discourse on this highly controversial issue, and thus strengthen American democracy. The signatories are deeply grateful to NATIONAL REVIEW *for opening its pages to their ideas and concerns.*

TWENTY-THREE years after the Supreme Court's *Roe* v. *Wade* and *Doe* v. *Bolton* decisions, the conscience of the American people remains deeply troubled by the practice of abortion on demand. Because of these two decisions, abortion is legal at any time of pregnancy, for virtually any reason, in every state. This constitutes an almost completely unrestricted private license to judge who will live and who will die.



That America has the most permissive abortion regime among the world's democracies is a betrayal of the American promise of justice for all. That is why a new sense of moral concern is stirring throughout our country in this election year. That is why millions of Americans have refused to accept the Court's 1992 admonition in *Planned Parenthood* v. *Casey* to stop debating the issue.

2. To those weary of this argument, it may seem that there is nothing more to be said on the matter of abortion. We disagree.

Survey research tells us that the American people do not want a legal regime of abortion on demand for any reason, at any time during a pregnancy. We believe we have an obligation to employ the arts of democratic persuasion to help reinstitute legal protection for all unborn children.

The extent of the abortion license and its reach into other areas of law and public policy is widely underestimated. We believe that, as citizens of the United States, we have the responsibility to discuss with our fellow citizens the facts of the abortion license and its impact on our common life.

Many women in crisis earnestly seek alternatives to abortion. We believe we ought to encourage those alternatives and help to provide them.

3. Pro-life service to women in crisis and pro-life advocacy on behalf of legal reform are expressions of our highest ideals as citizens of the United States. We affirm the nobility of the American democratic experiment in ordered liberty. We affirm the rule of law and the principle of equal protection under the law, even as we work to reform constitutional and statutory law so that the American legal system is, once again, congruent with the Founders' claim that the inalienable right to life is one of the great moral truths on which American democracy rests. We want an America that is open, hospitable, and caring—a community of civic friendship in which neighbors reach out to assist neighbors in distress.

4. The abortion license has helped to erode the moral foundations of the American civic community. Right now we are not the country we ought to be. That is why our national conscience is troubled. That distress is, to us, a sign of moral vitality. We speak now because we seek to defend the America we love. We speak to promote the cause of an America in which women and men, together, rebuild the fabric of civil society by acknowledging our common responsibility to serve and protect the weakest and most vulnerable among us.

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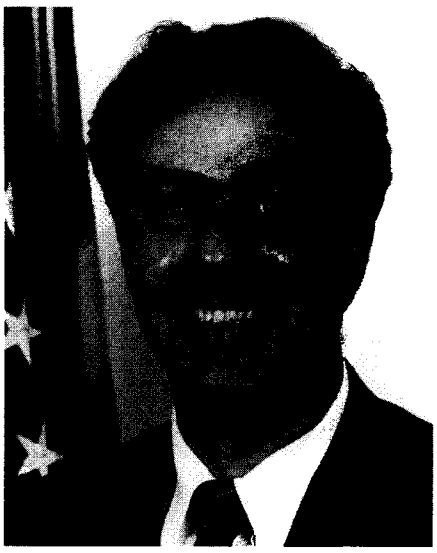
Armey Recruiting



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We speak for a rebirth of freedom in these United States: a freedom that finds its fulfillment in goodness.

Victims of the License

5. Americans of every race, economic condition, religion, and political persuasion share a common concern today for what some have called a national "virtue deficit." As a country, we have not paid sufficient attention to nurturing those habits of heart and mind that make democratic self-governance possible and that undergird what the Framers of the Constitution called "civic virtue." We believe that the abortion license is a critical factor in America's virtue deficit.

6. Abortion kills 1.5 million innocent human beings in America every year. There is no longer any serious scientific dispute that the unborn child is a human creature who dies violently in the act of abortion. This brute fact is the root of our national distress over the abortion license. Abortion kills: few would now deny that. But in order to defend the private "right" to lethal violence that is the essence of abortion, proponents of the license frequently resort to euphemisms like "products of conception" and "the termination of pregnancy."

The public dialogue is not coarsened by depictions of the reality of abortion. But a coarsening of our common life has taken place; it is evident in the lack of moral revulsion that follows one newspaper's accurate description of an abortion procedure that "breaks . . . apart" the "fetus" before "it" is "suctioned out of the uterus" or "extracted."

A sweeping abortion license was defined unilaterally by the Supreme Court. This in itself wounded American democracy.

7. The abortion license hurts women. Some (including the narrow Supreme Court majority in the 1992 *Casey* decision) contend that the license is necessary to ensure social and economic gains for women. It is ever more clear, though, that women pay a huge price for abortion. By providing an alleged technological "fix" for unintended pregnancy, the license has encouraged widespread male irresponsibility and predatory male sexual behavior. Abortion-on-demand has given an excuse to a man who shirks his responsibilities, claiming that the child he helped to conceive ought to have been aborted, or that the woman who declined to abort may not impose on him any responsibility for her "lifestyle choice."

Fathers have also been harmed and dehumanized by the abortion license. Some watch their children killed against their will; others learn to their distress only much later that a child they would have raised is dead. Even when agreeing to support the abortion decision, fathers, like mothers, suppress their grief, deny their protective instincts, and otherwise damage themselves when they allow the killing of their own children. Abortion contributes to the marginalization of fatherhood in America, which many agree is a primary cause of the alarming breakdown of American family life.

The license has thus poisoned relationships between women and men, even as it has done serious harm to the thousands of women who now suffer from the effects of post-abortion grief. The women of America do not need abortion to be full participants in our society. To suggest otherwise is to demean women, to further distort relationships between women and men, and to aggravate the difficulties of re-creating in America a community of virtue and mutual responsibility.

The Public Dimension

8. Abortion is not simply a matter of private "choice." Rather, the abortion license cuts to the heart of America's claim to being a law-governed democracy, in which equality before the law is a fundamental principle of justice. The abortion license also threatens the cultural foundations of our democratic political community. For if it becomes a settled matter in American law and in American public morality that there is, in fact, a private "right" to use lethal violence to "solve" personal, family, or social problems, then the claim of American democracy to be an expression of the people's commitment to "establish justice" will be undermined, just as it was when the law claimed the "right" to exclude certain Americans from its full protection on the basis of race. Thus the abortion issue is the crucial civil-rights issue of our time.

9. A sweeping abortion license was defined unilaterally by the Supreme Court without recourse to the normal procedures of democratic debate and legislation. This in itself wounded American democracy. And the Court's persistent refusal to permit the American people to debate the basic issue of an alleged "right to abortion" in their legislatures continues to damage our democracy by alienating tens of millions of Americans from their institutions of government.

10. The Court's definition of a "right to abortion"—first enunciated as a "privacy right," then as a "liberty right" under the Fourteenth Amendment—has had other damaging effects. The language of "rights" puts the dilemma of unwanted pregnancy into a legal-adversarial context, pitting mother against child, and even father against mother. But as the common experience of humanity—and, increasingly, the findings of science—demonstrates, what hurts one party in this most intimate of human relationships hurts both parties. The America we seek is an America in which both mother and child are the subjects of our concern and our community's protection. To abuse the language of "rights" in this matter further advances the demeaning practice of reducing all human relationships in America to matters of adversarial adjudication. This is a prescription for democratic decay. For democracy rests on the foundations of civil society, and in a truly civil society, relationships between people have a far richer moral texture than that suggested by adversarial procedure.

11. The Court's vain attempt to justify the abortion license in terms of an all-encompassing right of personal autonomy has begun to infect other areas of the law. Thus the "autonomy" logic of the Court's 1992 *Casey* decision is now invoked as a warrant for a constitutional "right" to euthanasia. And if it were followed to its conclusion, this logic would require us to consider such profound human relationships as the bond between husband and wife, or the bond between parents and children, to be nothing more than matters of contract, with the claims of the autonomous individual trumping all other claims. Enshrined by the Court to legalize abortion on demand, this autonomy logic threatens to give us an America in which the only actors of consequence are the individual

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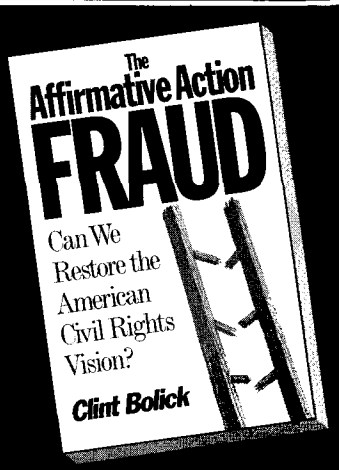
and the state; no other community, including the community of husband and wife, or the community of parents and children, will have effective constitutional standing.

12. The Supreme Court's insistence on a "right" to abortion has had other disturbing effects on our public life. This "right" has been used to justify the abridgment of First Amendment free-speech rights, as when sidewalk counselors are threatened with legal penalties for proposing protection and care to women in crisis at the crucial moment of decision outside an abortion clinic. This "right" has been used by the Federal Government to coerce state governments into providing abortions, even when state legislatures or popular referenda have clearly registered the people's unwillingness to use public funds for elective abortions. The abortion "right" has distorted our national health-care debate, as well as the debate over welfare reform. It has even had an impact on U.S. foreign policy. American attempts to impose the "right" on the rest of the world at the 1994 Cairo world conference on population and the 1995 Beijing world conference on women have been deeply resented by other countries, as have U.S. attempts to promote abortion overseas through foreign aid.

13. The Court's attempt to define a "right" to abortion has polarized institutions and professions that were once among the bulwarks of American civil society. Professional associations of lawyers, academics, teachers, and civil servants have been divided by attempts to enlist their resources and prestige in support of abortion on demand, and in opposition to any effort to regulate abortion even in ways held constitutional by the Supreme Court. The medical profession has been deeply divided over its relationship to the abortion license. That the practice of abortion on demand is now widely recognized within the medical community as contradictory to the most deeply held values of the profession of healing is, we believe, a sign of hope. Yet some medical groups now threaten to reverse this trend by coercion—for example, by requiring medical residency programs to teach and perform abortion techniques. There are also disturbing signs of the corrupting influence of the abortion license in other professions. History has been rewritten to provide specious justification for *Roe* v. *Wade*. The teaching



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of law has been similarly distorted, as have political theory and political science. Such extremism underlines the unavoidably public character of the abortion license. The abortion license has a perverse Midas quality—it corrupts whatever it touches.

The Way Ahead

14. Our goal is simply stated: we seek an America in which every unborn child is protected in law and welcomed in life. Legal reform and cultural renewal must both take place if America is to experience a new birth of the freedom that is ordered to goodness. We have just described, in this statement, the nature, sources, and dimension of our concern. Now, as pro-life leaders and scholars, we want to propose a program of action which we believe will appeal to Americans with open minds and hearts on this issue.

15. Means are always available to enable women to overcome the burdens that can accompany pregnancy and child-rearing. There are always alternatives to abortion. The legacy of *Roe* v. *Wade* involves a massive denial of this truth and a deformation of social attitudes and practices so pervasive that women are actually encouraged to have abortions as the "easier" road to the goals that an unexpected pregnancy appears to threaten. As individuals and as a society, we bear a common responsibility to make sure that all women know that their own physical and spiritual resources, joined to those of a society that truly affirms and welcomes life, are sufficient to overcome whatever obstacles pregnancy and child-rearing may appear to present. Women instinctively know, and we should never deny, that this path will involve sacrifice. But this sacrifice must no longer remain a one-way street. In particular, men must also assume their proper share of the responsibilities that family life—indeed, civilization itself—requires.

16. The pro-life movement must redouble its efforts to provide alternatives to abortion for women in crisis. There are now over 3,000 pregnancy-care centers in the United States, providing medical, educational, financial, and spiritual assistance to women who, facing the dilemma of a crisis pregnancy, bravely choose to carry their unborn children to term. We support an expansion of this service to our neighbors, so that by the turn of the century what we believe to be true today has become unmistakably clear to every American woman: No one in the United States has to have an abortion.

17. The overwhelming majority of Americans believe that adoption is preferable to abortion. We must streamline and simplify the legal procedures involved in adoption, while providing effective support to those married couples who choose to adopt.

18. The abortion license is inextricably bound up with the mores of the sexual revolution. Promotion of the pro-life cause also requires us to support and work with those who are seeking to re-establish the moral linkage between sexual expression and marriage, and between marriage and procreation. We believe that a renewal of American democracy as a virtuous society requires us to honor and promote an ethic of self-command and mutual responsibility, and to resist the siren song of the false ethic of unbridled self-expression.

19. Service to women in crisis, the promotion of adoption, and the restoration of sound sexual morality are essential if we are to experience a national cultural renewal that will help to sustain legal reform of the abortion license. The way in which we pursue the latter is also crucial, both to cultural renewal and legal reform.

We pledge ourselves to exercise the arts of democratic persuasion in advancing our legal agenda. We urge Congress and the courts to reconsider their ill-advised restrictions on the rights of pro-life activists.

We unequivocally reject the use of violence in the pro-life cause as contrary to the central moral principles of our movement. For more than 23 years, we have worked within the democratic process to advance the protection of all innocent human life, and we will continue to do so.

20. The unborn child in America today enjoys less legal protection than an endangered species of bird in a national forest. In this situation, we believe a broad-based legal and political strategy is essential. There are many steps to be taken on the road to an America in which every unborn child is protected in law and welcomed in life. Thus we find no contradiction between a rigorous adherence to our ultimate goal and the pursuit of reforms that advance us toward that goal. Legal reforms that fall short of our goal, but that help move us toward it, save lives and aid in the process of moral and cultural renewal.

21. In its 1992 *Casey* decision, the Supreme Court agreed that the State of Pennsylvania could regulate the abortion industry in a number of ways. These regulations do not afford any direct legal protection to the unborn child. Yet experience has shown that such regulations—genuine informed consent, waiting periods, parental notification—reduce abortions in a locality, especially when coupled with positive efforts to promote alternatives to abortion and service to women in crisis. A national effort to enact Pennsylvania-type regulations in all fifty states would be a modest but important step toward the America we seek.

22. Congress also has the opportunity to contribute to legal reform of the abortion license. A number of proposals are now being debated in the Congress, including bans on certain methods of abortion and restrictions on federal funding of abortions. We believe that Congress should adopt these measures and that the President should sign them into law. Any criminal sanctions considered in such legislation should fall upon abortionists, not upon women in crisis. We further urge the discussion of means by which Congress could recognize the unborn child as a human person entitled to the protection of the Constitution.

23. The right to life of the unborn will not be secured until it is secure under the Constitution of the United States. As it did in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (when it rejected the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* doctrine of "separate but equal" as an adequate expression of rights secured under the Fourteenth Amendment), the Supreme Court could reject the "central finding" of *Roe* v. *Wade*, that abortion on demand is required by an unenumerated "right to privacy" protected in part by the Fourteenth Amendment. The claim that such a correction of error would damage the Court's authority is belied by the experience of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, and by the fact that the Court has corrected its own erroneous interpretations of the Constitution on scores of other occasions.

A more enduring means of constitutional reform is a constitutional amendment both reversing the doctrines of *Roe* v. *Wade* and *Casey*, and establishing that the right to life protected by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments extends to the unborn child. Such an amendment would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the states: a requirement that under-

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lines the importance of establishing a track record of progressive legal change on behalf of the unborn child at the state and local levels.

Even with a constitutional amendment, every path to the protection and welcome we seek for unborn children requires the re-empowerment of the people of the United States and their elected representatives to debate and resolve the specific statutory enactments that will govern the question of abortion. A constitutional amendment, in other words, is not a self-executing instrument that will end the debate on abortion. It will, rather, correct a gross misinterpretation of the Constitution (as was required to reverse the grievous errors of the *Dred Scott* decision) and require states to debate and adopt policies that do not violate the unborn child's right to life.

Such a process does not, we emphasize, amount to the determination of moral truth by majority rule. Rather, it requires conforming fundamental constitutional principle to a fundamental moral truth—that abortion is the unwarranted taking of an innocent human life. Such a process also respects the role of representative government in fashioning policies that will ultimately secure that principle in practice. The project of constitutional reform on this issue, as on the precedent issues of slavery and segregation, is to bring our legal system into congruence with basic moral truths about the human person.

An Appeal to Our Neighbors

24. We believe the pro-life cause is an expression of the premise and promise of American democracy. The premise is that we are all created equal; the promise is that there is justice for all. For all the reasons cited above, the abortion license has done grave damage to America: it has killed tens of millions of unborn children, caused untold anguish to their mothers, and marginalized fathers in our society. The renewal of American democracy according to the highest ideals of the Founders requires us to stand for the inalienable right to life of the unborn, to stand with women in crisis, and to stand against the abortion license.

25. Few Americans celebrate the abortion license today. For many who are troubled by the license and its impact on our society, to be "reluctantly pro-choice" is now thought to be the responsible position. We respectfully urge those of our neighbors who hold that position to reconsider. We ask them to ponder the relationship between the abortion license and the crisis of family life in America. We ask them to reconsider whether radical autonomy is a sufficient understanding of freedom. We ask them to reflect, again, on the morality of abortion itself. We ask them to think about the social impact of a legally defined private "right" to lethal violence.

We ask them to ask themselves: "Is American society, today, more hospitable, caring, and responsible than it was before *Roe* v. *Wade*?" We believe the answer is "No." Problems that the proponents of abortion claimed the license would help alleviate—such as childhood poverty, illegitimacy, and child abuse—have in fact gotten worse, throughout every level of our society, since *Roe* v. *Wade*. Thus we respectfully ask our neighbors to consider the possibility of a connection—cultural as well as legal—between the virtue deficit in contemporary American life and the abortion license.

26. The pro-life movement is about affirmation. Thus we ask our neighbors, of whatever political persuasion or current conviction on the matter of abortion, to engage in a great national debate about the America we seek, and the relationship of the abortion license to that future. We ask all Americans to join with us in providing effective, compassionate service to women in crisis. Work on alternatives to abortion and on the reform of adoption laws and procedures can create the conditions for a new dialogue on the future of abortion law and practice in America. We are ready for that new conversation. We invite all our neighbors to join us.

Mary Cunningham Agee, The Nurturing Network
Don Argue, National Association of Evangelicals
Hadley Arkes, Amherst College
Gary Bauer, Family Research Council
Robert P. Casey, Fund for the American Family, Campaign for the American Family
Samuel B. Casey, The Center for Law and Religious Freedom, Christian Legal Society
Charles W. Colson, Prison Fellowship
Guy M. Condon, Care Net
Marjorie Dannenfelser, Susan B. Anthony List
Midge Decter, Author
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Bernard Dobranski, The Catholic University of America, School of Law
James C. Dobson, Focus on the Family
Jean Bethke Elshtain, University of Chicago
Clarke D. Forsythe, Americans United for Life
Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Emory University
Wanda Franz, National Right to Life Committee
Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Valparaiso University, School of Law
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Richard Land, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention
Glenn C. Loury, Boston University
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Michael W. McConnell, University of Chicago, School of Law
Gilbert Meilaender, Oberlin College
Bernard N. Nathanson, MD, Center of Clinical and Research Ethics, Vanderbilt University
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David Novak, University of Virginia
Michael Novak, American Enterprise Institute
Marvin Olasky, University of Texas at Austin
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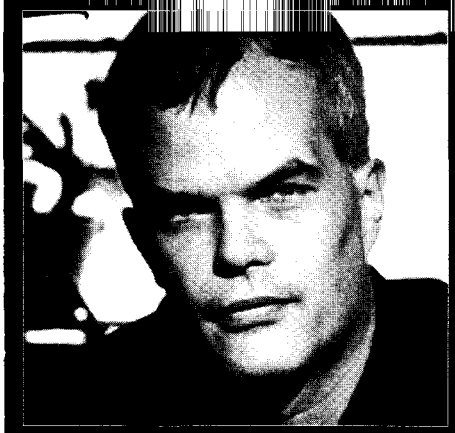

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Warner Under Fire

Old-style GOP politicians are discovering that money and good looks are no longer enough.

RICH LOWRY

ALL politicians adorn their offices with pictures of themselves and sundry souvenirs, but Virginia Senator John Warner seems to be angling for a spread in *Town & Country*. His office is a personal shrine, and he's the guide. The tour begins with a framed 1944 letter from the Secretary of the U.S. Senate recommending the young Warner, who had just quit high school, as one of the finest young men he had ever known. Even as a dropout, Warner was getting his ticket punched by establishment figures ready to nudge along his career. In this case, Warner was after a spot in the Navy. He got it. There are pictures on the wall to memorialize his service and a little case with his decorations stacked up against those of his father.

Next, paintings by Warner's art instructor. So the Senator paints himself? "I'm going to end up with that," he says, eager to enjoy each piece of these memorabilia in turn. There's a picture of Warner as Secretary of the Navy—"a young really whiz kid in those days," by his own account—at the signing of the Incidents at Sea Agreement in 1972. "Over here is one of the high points I would like to think, modestly, of my career"—a copy of the Warner-sponsored Gulf War resolution signed by all the key players like a get-well card. Over in the corner is a looming elk head, shot, of course, by the Senator himself. "With an open-sight, V-sight rifle at about 240 yards. I was a marksman in the Marine Corps and always shot pretty well."

Finally, a stack of Christmas cards with a painting of tangled yellow flowers on a dark background: " 'Sunflowers' 1995, oil on canvas, by John Warner." Then the silver-haired senator, with his strong chin and fine nose, his 69 years showing only in the deep creases in his cheeks, plops down in a chair, props his feet on the table, and loosens his tie. Life, as they say in the beer commercials, is *good*. The cards feature a Thomas Jefferson quotation, which reads in part, "thanks to a benevolent arrangement of things, the better part of life is sunshine." Warner married, by turns, money and celebrity, and parlayed both into a political career; he lost the nomination for a U.S. Senate seat in 1978, then saw the winner die in a plane crash that sent him to the Senate; he works not so much in a deliberative body as in a chummy club with dozens of close friends. He has always, in other words, had reason to believe in the "benevolent arrangement of things." At least until recently.

The world is shifting beneath John Warner's feet. The national GOP has moved steadily rightward, making life in the Senate more uncomfortable by the day for him and his clutch of long-serving moderate friends. The Virginia Republican Party has seen an influx of religious conservatives for whom Warner, a self-styled Virginia gentleman, can only have disdain. And the Washington which Warner has made his life has become almost a dirty word. Outside his office, the Senator blinks at an increasingly incomprehensible landscape. At a recent meeting of Virginia activists, Warner played his favored role of gentleman escorting a lady—in this case, keynote speaker Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R., Tex.)—into a $50-a-plate Friday-night dinner. But the Senator's dignified aspect was spoiled when he had to wade through a raucous group of College Republican protestors at the door chanting the name of his opponent in Virginia's June primary. Surely *they* weren't supposed to be in Jefferson's benevolent arrangement.

JOHN Warner was a busy young man: service in the Navy and Marine Corps, a law degree from the University of Virginia law school and work as an assistant U.S. Attorney, stints on the Nixon campaigns in 1960 and 1968. But perhaps his most important early success was marrying the daughter of billionaire Paul Mellon. The hefty contributions his father-in-law made to Nixon almost certainly helped Warner land a job as Undersecretary of the Navy in 1969. Soon enough, he moved into the top spot. In 1973 the Warners had an amicable divorce, with

"I can't believe we're sitting here watching trash like this."

Mr. Lowry is NR*'s national political reporter.*

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Warner getting the Middleburg estate and a substantial amount of cash. By then he knew that he wanted to get into electoral politics, and he found the perfect entry ticket in 1976 by marrying serial bride Elizabeth Taylor.

Large crowds showed up at Warner for Senate rallies in 1978 just to glimpse the one-time sex-pot. It is this glamor-boy campaign that created a permanent sense among Virginia activists that Warner is somehow illegitimate. His opponent was the deeply committed conservative Dick Obenshain, the architect of the modern Virginia Republican Party. Obenshain beat Warner, but died two months later in a plane crash. Distraught Obenshain backers approached several other candidates before turning to Warner, who pledged to vote the Obenshain way and managed to unite the party that November. But the scars are deep. Warner still complains: "That group that are out fighting me today really tried to get four other people to run before they came to me."

Warner at first honored his Obenshain pledge. But gradually his own instincts prevailed. Warner can be a gracious man. If he has a reputation as a dandy, it makes for a certain charm. The problem is that chumminess is his guiding principle. "It's very difficult for him to say 'no' to people," says one defense expert, "particularly if he sees some political down side." So although his voting record is loosely conservative, he has a nose like a bloodhound for "bi-partisan compromises." "He's always off somewhere else when you need him at the end," complains one Senate aide. "And usually he's off somewhere else doing something harmful and at cross-purposes with what he was saying and doing when he was standing at the starting line."

This pliability made his tenure as ranking minority member of the Senate Armed Services Committee a nightmare for more aggressive Republicans. Warner had a fatal attraction to Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, then chairman of the committee. "With the John Tower thing," recalls former Sen. Malcolm Wallop, referring to George Bush's nominee for Defense Secretary, "we had to have a committee revolt to get [Warner] to defend John Tower because he didn't want to offend Sam Nunn." On issue after issue, committee Republicans had to attempt to pry Warner away from Nunn, especially on SDI. "He always claimed to be the SDI Senator," says Wallop, who considers Warner a friend despite differing politics. "But he never would have been if it had not been for some of us who genuinely cared."

In 1991, the Bush Administration pushed for an SDI program combining space-based interceptors with ground-based missiles at six sites. The plan meant radically revising the ABM Treaty with the Soviets, a move for which Nunn and other Democrats have little stomach. So, Warner demurred. "He was sort of a chronically weak sister on almost all the hard issues," says a former Senate staffer. "Even when . . . he'd be all bucked up by leadership and so on, you'd turn around and all of a sudden he'd be taking a walk on you." In this case, Warner led a successful effort to put the space-based system on the back burner, limit ground-based deployment to one site—and, consequently, defer tough choices on ABM. Last year, it was the same story. Warner led a bi-partisan effort to emasculate his own—originally quite strong—proposal to prevent the Clinton Administration from extending the reach of ABM.

None of this affected Warner's standing back home. That took more serious offenses, the first of which was his 1987 vote against the Supreme Court confirmation of Judge Robert Bork. Afterwards Warner, according to press and

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eyewitness accounts, described to Virginia Republicans a decisive, last-minute, face-to-face meeting with Bork right before his vote. But Bork later characterized Warner's story as "not true in any relevant detail." Warner, according to Bork, briefly asked him about a frivolous criticism Sen. Howell Heflin (D., Ala.) had made of his youthful flirtation with socialism. Then Warner left—without looking Bork in the eye or declaring his intention to vote nay, as he reportedly claimed. Bork concluded Warner had just been looking for cover.

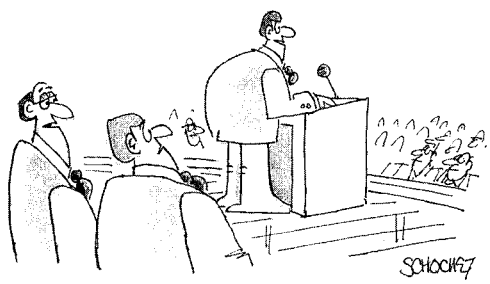
The Senator still says of Bork that he wasn't "clearly certain of where this man's center of gravity was. Because he had switched around in life between being somewhat liberal and being somewhat conservative and back and forth." Is this what psychoanalysts call transference? "Since then," Warner says, "I must say Bork has, I think, handled himself very commendably in his private life. He has never once directed any bitterness towards me. Therefore you have to admire the guy for the manner in which he has conducted himself." Warner says he would now give "very serious consideration" to voting to confirm Bork. This is pure Warner: confused reasoning for a decision that just bent to the prevailing winds; no sense of his politics resting on anything more profound than personal taste; no compunction whatsoever about appearing absurd. Warner soon brought all this to bear on the Virginia GOP.

IN 1993, Mike Farris, a national leader of home-schoolers, won a bitter battle for the Republican Lieutenant Governor nomination. Farris was buoyed at the GOP state convention by an influx of home-schoolers and evangelicals. He quickly became a ripe target for Democrats, who would, among other things, unfairly accuse him of wanting to ban the book *The Wizard of Oz* from schools. A spooked Warner pointedly refused to endorse Farris in a September interview with a Richmond TV station. Farris, who thought he already had an assurance of Warner's support, quickly arranged a meeting with the Senator. "He promised that he would not say anything negative until he had a chance to see me again," recalls Farris. "But before the debate [with Democratic incumbent Don Beyer], before he saw the debate, he was out blasting me in public again."

Warner's office says the Senator does not have a clear recollection of the Farris meeting. In any case, his continued non-endorsements hurt—perhaps fatally—in a race Farris lost by just eight points. Warner now praises the former candidate. "I just didn't know Michael Farris," he says. He explains how he was concerned that Farris had no expertise in key economic areas like manufacturing and defense. "He would be working with the governor, a heartbeat away from the governor," Warner insists, "and six million people in this state are dependent in some measure on the governor of Virginia for their economic well-being." But despite this posturing (reminiscent of his post-Bork excuses), Warner's rejection of Farris was surely almost instinctive, a reaction to a Republican Party in which his Middleburg estate and cocktail suavity are no longer assets.

The Virginia Republican Party once was the progressive opposition to the state Democrats. It was Dick Obenshain's insight in the 1960s and 1970s that moving right would allow the GOP to pick up conservative Democrats, but he had to battle the moderate Republican establishment to do it. It was a Warner selling point in 1978 that he could bridge this gap. The next change in the party came in the early 1980s when Warner was already ensconced in the Senate: the arrival of evangelicals energized by the Lynchburg-based Moral Majority. The influx continued in 1988 with Pat Robertson's presidential candidacy, and Mike Farris's run in 1993 brought another burst. This was a segment of the electorate Warner never had to engage as he coasted to re-election in 1984 and 1990, and they never show up at Georgetown dinner parties. It showed.

Earle Williams, a Warner supporter, attended the 1993 Farris–Warner meeting. "Mike at one point," recalls Williams, "said something about being a born-again Christian and John made some response, 'Well, weren't you born into a Christian family?' " Warner tipped his hand too in an op-ed after the election in which he explained he didn't know Farris because he moved in "narrow circles," i.e., not the smart set. In the same breath in which he talks of not knowing Farris well enough in 1993 to assess his character, Warner talks glowingly of his own likely opponent in November, millionaire Democratic businessman Mark Warner. The Senator surely knows Warner no better than he did Farris, but is nonetheless impressed: "He's number one in his Harvard school. You know that? Number one in his class."



"He'll make a great politician—he's got that knack of never getting to the point."

THIS cultural/class gap also played into Warner's opposition to 1994 GOP Senate nominee Ollie North, who drew support from the same category of voters as Farris. Warner recruited a two-time state-wide loser, Republican Marshall Coleman, to run against North as an independent. The bloodless Coleman was the perfect candidate of the Warner wing of the party. He pulled 11 per cent of the vote, enough to throw the election to incumbent Chuck Robb, a member in good standing of the Senate club. In the midst of Robb's ethical problems in 1992—allegations of adultery, drug parties, wire-tapping—Warner had praised him as "a strong working partner in the Senate on behalf of the interests of Virginia that we pursue jointly, and we will continue to work together."

But Warner won't be around for this collegial work unless he survives a June primary against former Reagan Office of Management and Budget Director Jim Miller. Party activists drip with hatred for Warner—justifiably. The Senator has sabotaged his party consistently, deepening the GOP's internal divisions at a time when it should be realizing Obenshain's vision of a durable conservative coalition. Why? A growing party cramps his style. It means women with baby-strollers, grimy guys with gun-racks on their trucks, those "born-again Christians" —none of whom are likely to appreciate his bi-partisan work in the Senate, let alone his work with oil on canvas. Warner will depend on the Virginia Federation of Republican Women, a moderate stronghold whose members still dote on their dashing Senator, for his base come June. He will also count

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on the support of grateful independents and Democrats in the open primary.

Warner professes to be taking take the primary race "very seriously." Watching him is like seeing an actor in a play that suddenly had its plot changed. Warner has always starred as John Warner. But now being the distinguished-looking incumbent Senator just isn't enough. Asked about his record, he proclaims it solidly conservative, then asks an aide: "You got a sheet—you can hand it to me—so I can talk from it?" There is almost a desperation: What are my lines again? At one point, a young aide says he has to run and the Senator calls out, "Give her my best, will you?" Wink-wink—I remember those days, boy. Alas, for John Warner, those days and much else that made his career such sunshine now live only as memories somewhere on his office walls. □

We the Peoples

The multiculturalist agenda is shattering the American identity.

JOHN FONTE

MOST parents expect that their children will, in the course of their studies, learn the history of the American people. However, among leading educators, the idea that there *is* an "American people" is gradually, but nevertheless steadily, losing ground to the view that instead of one people the United States of America consists of many diverse "peoples."

The proposed National History Standards and comment on them provide a rich set of examples. The Council for Basic Education recently released a report that endorses as "solid guiding principles" the NHS's "Criteria for the Development of Standards." The Criteria state that a major goal of American-history teaching is to develop "mutual respect" among the "many peoples" of the United States. And the National History Standards themselves often substitute the phrase "the American peoples" for "the American people." For example, one of the core history standards suggests that students understand how "big business, heavy industry, and mechanized farming transformed the American peoples" in the late nineteenth century.

It is significant that the educators who wrote the National History Standards chose to use the term "peoples" instead of "ethnic groups." It is also significant that the educators and scholars who wrote the Council for Basic Education's report did not flinch from endors-

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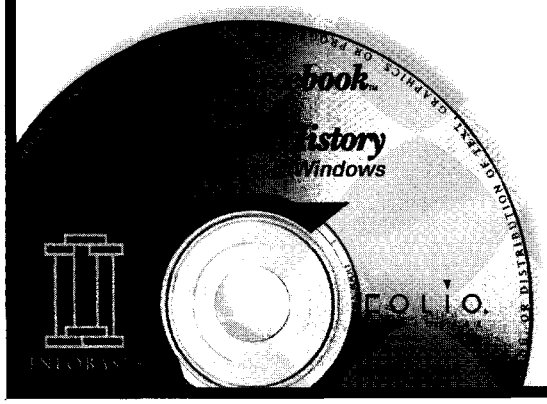

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ing Criteria that refer to the "peoples" of the United States.

In the past several years the concept of "the American peoples" has gained currency among state educators. In July 1991, New York State released a new social-studies curriculum, "One Nation, Many Peoples: A Declaration of Cultural Interdependence." On June 9, 1995, New York's latest social-studies plan again referred to the American "peoples." In September 1995, the Colorado State Board of Education adopted history standards recommending that students describe the "interaction" of "various peoples" ("African, Asian, European, Latino, and Native American") living in the United States, as if these bureaucratic and often artificial classifications constituted separate "peoples."

Leaders of major educational organizations have also adopted this concept. The major expert on multiculturalism for the nation's largest civic education association, the National Council for the Social Studies, wrote in May 1994: "To create an authentic democratic *unum* with moral authority and perceived legitimacy, the *pluribus* (diverse peoples) must negotiate and share power." On March 31, 1995, in his presidential address to the Organization of American Historians, Professor Gary B. Nash (principal author of the National History Standards) repeatedly evoked the concept of America's "peoples."

Far from being trivial, this rhetorical shift from American people to American "peoples" is truly revolutionary: it implies a transformation of the American liberal democratic regime. In effect, leading educators are reinventing America from a nation of individuals, voluntary associations, and ethnic groups to a confederation of diverse "peoples" with separate world views and different "cultures." The shift from a *multiethnic* vision of America to a *multicultural* one is a fundamental change: from a nation based on individual citizenship, with those citizens belonging to racial and ethnic groups from all over the world, to a nation composed of different "peoples" who enter the public arena as groups instead of individuals.

In multiethnic America, many individuals continue certain ethnic traditions and habits, while affirming the core values of the American civic culture and our national heritage. In multicultural America, different peoples have their own cultures, values, world views, and ways of life. These "peoples" then "contest and negotiate for power" with little in common save "celebrating" the transcendent value of diversity itself.

The distinction between a multiethnic and a multicultural society becomes clear when we observe how educators define culture and multiculturalism. The Florida social-studies framework of August 1994 declares that "Culture suggests the ideas, customs, skills, arts, etc. of a people." The framework recommends that "Students recognize that people interact with their environments and create systems comprised of unique beliefs, values, traditions, languages, customs, technology, and institutions." It further states that Florida students should recognize the "different cultures present in the classroom" and "understand that cultures have different beliefs and values."

THE language of multicultural education implies that the United States is a multinational (as opposed to a multiethnic) state like the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia, or India. This is in direct opposition to the basic vision of America enshrined in the core documents of the nation. The Declaration of Independence refers to the necessity of "one People" to dissolve its political bonds with another, and our Constitution reads "We the People," not "we the peoples," of the United States.

Interestingly, we have had this argument before in our history. At the beginning of the twentieth century a group of American intellectuals, most prominently Horace Kallen, under the banner of "cultural pluralism" promoted the concept of America as a federation of separate "nations" or "peoples." During the first two decades of the twentieth century the cultural pluralists were defeated by other sectors of the American elite that favored civic assimilation and "Americanization." Today, at the end of the twentieth century, educational elites have accepted a new version of cultural pluralism called "multiculturalism" and "diversity."

Furthermore, undeterred either by election results or by popular opinion, the multicultural educators are in no mood to brook opposition to their plans. Thus, the latest New York social-studies curricular guide declares that "multicultural education needs to be more broadly defined and understood so that teachers from a wide range of disciplines can respond to it in appropriate ways and *resistance to it can be minimized*." Apparently, the advocacy of "multiple perspectives" repeated mantra-like throughout the state's curricular framework does not apply to multiculturalism and diversity.

The continued advance of the multicultural project and the diversity agenda over rising political opposition suggests that this culture war will persist for a long time to come. Unfortunately, it

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As Others See Us?

1) "The American nation is a new social and international community . . . and the prototype of larger international communities of the future" (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Volume 24, page 363).

2) "A new historic community of peoples—the American people—has emerged under the impact of various powerful unifying factors" (*EB*, Volume 17, page 378).

3) "The American people constitute a multinational collective entity" (*EB*, Volume 24, page 363).

4) . . . "enabled the American people . . . to create a powerful multinational state that harmoniously blends the interest of the entire society with the interest of each ethnic group" (*EB*, Volume 17, 378).

5) "American borders lose their former significance and do not promote national exclusiveness" (*EB*, Volume 17, page 356).

6) "The increased international traits in the national culture and character do not mean that national traits are being sacrificed but that the very meaning of the term 'national' is changing and becoming more inclusive" (*EB*, Volume 24, page 363).

Actually, these quotes are not from the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* they're from the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (1974; English-language edition 1979–90). And they are not quite as they appear in the original. "Soviet" and "socialist" are replaced with "American," and "each nation and each people" with "each ethnic group," making them indistinguishable from the opinions of American multiculturalists. —JOSEPH E. FALLON

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will most probably be a war of attrition in which victory will go to the side that is better organized and has the greater stamina, rather than the side that presents the more cogent arguments.

The long-term health of the nation's civic culture depends upon the core values, symbols, ideas, and concepts that are accepted as legitimate by cultural and educational leaders long before they appear in textbooks and lesson plans. Today's curriculum fights over multiculturalism and multiethnicity, over diversity and unity, will influence our vision of ourselves and shape the cultural health of the American people (or the American peoples?) well into the twenty-first century. At least for now, as the Council for Basic Education's report illustrates, the proposition that America is a nation of different "peoples" continues to advance. □

Shadow of VATman

VATs raise money efficiently and with comparatively small economic effect—which is exactly the problem.

BRUCE R. BARTLETT

ON February 28, Senate Democrats unveiled a new tax package. A key feature of this package is replacement of the current corporate income tax with a value-added tax (VAT), a kind of sales tax applied at each stage of production and hidden in the prices of goods. The VAT originated in Western Europe and now has been adopted by every country there—indeed, it is required for entry into the European Union. And it is the principal reason for the vast growth of the welfare state in Europe over the last thirty years. Clearly, Senate Democrats hope an American VAT will have the same effect here.

In 1965, before the VAT was adopted, total taxes as a share of GDP in Western Europe averaged 27.2 per cent, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This figure was only slightly higher than those for Australia and the United States—the only two OECD countries still without a VAT—where taxes as a share of GDP averaged 23.2 per cent and 25.8 per cent, respectively. Most of the nations of Western Europe adopted VATs in the late 1960s and early 1970s. And by 1993 total taxes as a share of GDP averaged 41.4 per cent in Western Europe. By contrast, taxes in Australia and the U.S. are not much higher than they were in 1965, at 28.7 per cent and 29.7 per cent of GDP, respectively.

The reason the VAT has led to such an increase in taxation is that it is nearly invisible and hence the most efficient tax ever devised—efficient in the sense that it is less discouraging to productive economic activity than other taxes raising the same revenue. The more efficient a tax system is, the more revenue a government can raise before reaching the limit of taxable capacity. Had the European governments attempted to raise the same revenue without the VAT, they would have encountered economic and political limits.

One consequence of the VAT's invisibility is that the rate is easily raised. The 12 OECD countries that adopted VATs before 1973 have seen their VAT rates rise by an average of 71 per cent; even those that adopted VATs since 1985 have seen rates rise by an average of 14 per cent.

Giving politicians a tax that could be raised incrementally without generating either significant political opposition or negative economic effects sets the stage for a vast expansion of the welfare state. In 1965 government spending as a share of GNP in Western Europe averaged 34.5 per cent, according to the OECD. By 1993, spending had risen to 52.1 per cent.

Much of this increased spending went into welfare benefits that sharply cut the cost of not working. This has created a poverty trap in which the combination of direct taxes and lost benefits reduces the incentive to work harder to virtually nothing for many people. For example, a 1994 OECD study noted that in the UK, if a married man who had two children and earned £100 per week were to receive £1 extra, he would keep just 3 pence of it. First he would pay 20 pence in income taxes and 9 pence in social security. Then he would lose 50 pence in family benefit, 14 pence in housing benefit, and 4 pence in local tax refund. This is equivalent to a 97 per cent marginal tax rate.

Business welfare expanded as well. According to another OECD study, industrial subsidies are at least four times as high in Europe as in the United States. While industrial subsidies amounted to just 0.5 per cent of GDP in the U.S. in 1986, they consumed 2.6 per cent of GDP in Denmark, 3.3 per cent in France, 4.1 per cent in Norway, and 7.4 per cent in Sweden. These subsidies made European businesses very uncompetitive in international markets. Although subsidies are now being reduced, it will still be many years before

"Let's get out of here! That's one of those thingies that hold up the pizza box lids.

Mr. Bartlett is a senior fellow with the Dallas-based National Center for Policy Analysis.

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most European businesses get their costs down to U.S. or Japanese levels.

Ultimately there still is a limit to taxation, even with a VAT, and Europe seems to have reached it. Taxes and spending as a share of GDP seem to have finally leveled off, after decades of steady increases. International competition and the decline of trade barriers have forced cutbacks in industrial subsidies, while budget deficits and rising unemployment are forcing reforms in welfare benefits. And there is now talk of using VAT revenue to reduce marginal income-tax rates, rather than paying for more spending.

Adoption of the Senate Democrats' plan would be a major move toward following Europe down the path of welfare dependency and uncompetitiveness just as Europeans are seeing the need to return to freer economies. It is a move that conservatives should resist at all costs. □

Russia on the Brink

The deteriorating situation inside Russia threatens the security of the entire region.

ADRIAN KARATNYCKY

THE climate of anxiety in Central and Eastern Europe is palpable. In Poland the public has been shaken by charges that the country's ex-Communist prime minister, Jozef Oleksy, was a spy. In Ukraine, the Communists, emboldened by the successes of their colleagues in Russia and other former Soviet republics, are seeking to force a referendum on the restoration of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the renewal of the USSR. German officials declared recently that Russian spying has reached levels exceeding those of the Soviet era. To the leaders of Central Europe's post-Communist democracies, their countries' need for early entry into NATO is ever more obvious.

Russia's return to aggressive hegemonism has given Eastern and Central Europeans plenty to worry about. None of the top Russian presidential candidates looks encouraging. Gennady Zyuganov, a Communist leader who preaches traditional virtues with an undercurrent of xenophobia, rails at the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He is suspicious of the United Nations, opposes abortion, and calls on Russia to reaffirm its fundamental Christian roots. The ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky uses politico-eroticism based on the great leader's putative sexual potency and animal magnetism. Gen. Aleksandr Lebed has informed voters that Russia is not ready for democracy and that NATO expansion will trigger the start of World War III. He promises to inaugurate a regime of strict law and order and bring the corrupt governing elite to heel. Finally, the wheezing, sleepy, slurring, at times intoxicated Boris Yeltsin has become a voice for a statist regime in which power is held by a few cartels with Red directors.

Yeltsin's former press spokesman, the democrat Vyacheslav Kostikov, has just published a scathing memoir that describes Yeltsin as an amoral politician driven entirely by the quest for power. Still, because the only semi-competitive candidate with some attachment to democratic virtue (Grigory Yavlinsky) is a longshot, President Yeltsin is probably the best that Russia's neighbors and the West can hope for.

What, then, is wrong with the Russian people? Perhaps the better question is: What is wrong with Russia's leaders?

It is now clear that in the four and a half years since the collapse of the USSR, something has gone terribly wrong with Russia's transition to a normal market democracy. Instead of a vibrant market society, Russia has become a state dominated by an incestuous corporatist system of cartels. There is no better example of this interlocking system than the fact that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is the former director—and some suspect chief individual shareholder—of Gazprom (the former state gas company, reputed to be the most valuable corporation on earth) and that First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Kadannikov is the former director of AvtoVaz (Russia's equivalent of General Motors).

The power of these representatives of the military–industrial complex has survived the turmoil of Communist collapse virtually intact. Now they, in alliance with representatives of the security structures, are pressing for Russia's return to a traditional pattern of intimidation and oppression abroad.

While the international financial community has again lavished massive loans ($10 billion) on the Kremlin, Russia's governing elite appears to have relegated the West to the fourth tier of Russian interests. The first tier contains the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The second tier, the countries of Eastern Europe. The third tier, the Islamic world and China. Only after relations with these countries are resolved will Russia seek to shape relations with the West.

WHILE this transformation has come about gradually, there is no question that, today, Russia is led by a fundamentally different set of leaders from the ones who took over after the collapse of the August 1991 coup. Out of office are economic reformers Yegor Gaidar and Aleksandr Chubais and democratic reformer Sergei Kovalev. In are hard-liners who have pressed for the war in Chechnya, the return to a state-dominated economy, and the primacy of relations with such renegade regimes as Iraq and Iran.

All this suggests that the Russian political, economic, and security establishments have been paving the way for this summer's likely shift of power to a Communist or nationalist president. Indeed, Russia's power brokers appear to be forcing President Yeltsin to appoint what amounts to a government of transition that already reflects the choices in favor of statism and hegemonism made by Russian voters in December's parliamentary elections.

In the U.S. Government, meanwhile, even the most optimistic predictors of a smooth Russian transition to a democratic society appear to have new and profound doubts. Only Ambassador Thomas Pickering, recently in the U.S.

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for meetings of the Gore–Chernomyrdin commission, continues to make a case for business as usual. He points out that in 1993 the Communists received around 12 per cent of the vote and Vladimir Zhirinovsky's fascists 22 per cent. Now, he says, the percentages are simply reversed. But in truth, in 1995 more than 60 per cent of the votes were cast for ultra-nationalist, Communist, and fascist political formations, each of which regards the Yeltsin team as criminally culpable for destroying a great power. Two years before, these forces were a clear minority.

Such voters would seem disposed to elect anyone but President Yeltsin. But Yeltsin's advisors are apparently not convinced. They have pressed him to woo the nationalist part of the electorate by adopting a more muscular anti-U.S. foreign policy, and the Communist part by increasing government spending on social programs and slowing down the pace of privatization. If Yeltsin fails in this bid to secure majority support, there is little chance that he will be able to steal the election through fraud at the polls. In the last parliamentary elections, at least as many local election commissions appeared to favor the Communists as favored Chernomyrdin's pro-Yeltsin Our Home Russia party. And since then, the Communist candidate, Gennady Zyuganov, has been waging a skillful campaign, melding a reactionary Pan-Slavic neo-imperialism with traditional Communist sloganeering. Echoing anti-Semitic themes, Zyuganov posits a twilight centuries-long struggle between a moral Christian society—Russia—and a soulless, materialist Western society stripped of its Christian essence by capitalism and Jewish domination of finance and commerce.

Even if—against all odds—Yeltsin can score a victory over Communist and nationalist hard-liners, he would probably wind up following external policies resembling those of his enemies. Indeed, he is already doing so in the escalation of warfare in Chechnya. And no signals of a hard-line foreign and defense policy could be clearer than the appointment of Nikolai Yegorov as presidential chief of staff and Yevgeny Primakov as foreign minister.

How much does all of this matter? A recent report prepared by Yuri Baturin, President Yeltsin's national-security advisor, places Russia's potential in a global context. Russia's gross domestic product is 15 per cent that of the Unit-

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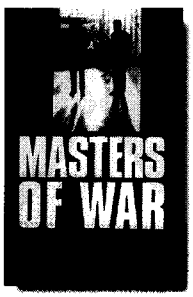

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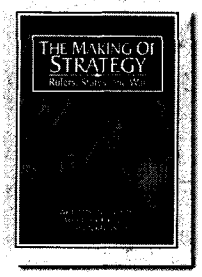

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ed States. Demographic trends suggest the Russian population—barring a major new influx from other countries of the former USSR—will not significantly increase over the next twenty years. The report's authors conclude that Russia will not be able to claim the role of "Number Two Superpower" but instead should seek the role of a "micro-opposition" in the world, working to block U.S. and NATO hegemony.

Some might argue that Russia's weakness means that the country no longer poses any significant threat. But Russia remains a great military power with a massive nuclear arsenal. Moreover, Russia's potential for economic revival is great because of its unrivaled reserve of natural resources. Most significantly, Russia remains a great power when compared to its neighbors and so poses a potential danger for security and stability in Central Europe and Central Asia. Absent a well-conceived Western policy, Russia will certainly attempt to restore the former Soviet Union. Indeed, the response of Russia's elite to the reality of Russian decline outlined in the Baturin report has been first denial, then anger, and finally a determined effort to change the geopolitical balance by the restoration of the Soviet state through reintegration, whether voluntary or coerced.

TO respond to this emerging challenge, Western leaders should stop viewing Russia through a Cold War prism. Russia is not the superpower that the Soviet Union was. While it is important to think about Russia in traditional balance-of-power terms, we should do so in a fundamentally new way: not as a superpower, but as a regional power in Central Europe and Central Asia. An anti-democratic, xenophobic Russia seeking to restore its hegemonic rule poses a serious threat to its immediate neighbors in those regions. And history teaches us that such a threat could eventually spill over and destabilize Western Europe and the Middle East.

The key, then, is to balance Russian influence by bolstering cooperation among countries Russia would like to dominate. In Central Asia, this means bolstering the autonomy of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan. In the critical European arena, it means strengthening the stability and independence of Poland and Ukraine—especially by working to ensure the energy independence of Ukraine, whose reliance on Russian oil and natural gas is its most pronounced strategic vulnerability.

Together Poland and Ukraine have a population of over 90 million, roughly three-quarters that of European Russia (Russia west of the Urals). Ukraine has possession of some of the former USSR's most modern arms; under the terms of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, it has two-thirds as many tanks and armored personnel carriers as Russia.

Recent internal problems in Poland and Ukraine suggest that balancing Russian influence will be difficult and will require skillful Western policy. In Poland, these problems include evidence of a significant web of relationships between Warsaw's governing ex-Communists and Russian intelligence. In Ukraine, there is the worrisome presence of pro-Russian, pro-reintegration movements. Ukraine's and Russia's Communists recently coordinated a wave of miners' strikes, which Ukrainian authorities dealt with successfully. But the Communists are trying to collect three million signatures to force a referendum on restoring the USSR. The Polish spy scandal and the bold mobilization of Ukraine's Communists are not at all coincidental signs of Russia's increasingly active external policy.

But not all is bleak. Ukraine's Communists have little chance of electing a president. And despite considerable sentiment for reintegration with Russia in Ukraine's ethnically Russian Crimea and in the linguistically Russian Donbas, Ukraine's prime minister and parliament seek to preserve their country's sovereignty.

President Leonid Kuchma, who visited Washington recently at the invitation of Freedom House, restated his opposition to Ukraine's participation in a military–political union of the Commonwealth of Independent States. While asserting his desire for close economic relations with Russia, he reaffirmed that Ukraine sees the CIS as an economic entity, not a military–political one. He also pledged to continue along a path of democracy and market reform; he declared: "The strategic aim . . . for Ukraine is to enter the European Union."

"If you'd like to pass the time by speaking to someone else who's on hold, press 4."

Ukraine is the key to denying Russia the status of world power. Naturally, Ukraine does not want to be a buffer, and it has no wish to absorb the blows of a militant and belligerent Russia. Neither, though, does it want to be a bridge between Russia and the West—"People walk all over you when you're a bridge," says Ukrainian ambassador Yuri Shcherbak. Instead, its leaders want it to be an integral part of Europe.

Poland's recent woes, too, can be overcome. Polish reliability is integral to the strategy of NATO expansion. To restore confidence in Poland's leaders amid the widening spy scandal will require placing non-Communists at the head of the defense and foreign ministries and establishing a permanent commission to review secret-police documents concerning appointees for public office.

Amid the growing uncertainty in Eastern Europe there are, for the first time since President Clinton took office, signs of an adjustment in U.S. policy in the region. That policy includes a reassertion of a U.S. commitment to NATO expansion. And there are signs of a shift in U.S. attitudes toward Russia.

Most significantly, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, who has steered our Russian policy from the inception of the Clinton Administration, has shifted perceptibly in the last year. Gone is the Pollyannish talk about helping Russia complete its transition to democracy. Replacing it is a more realistic view that Russia's transformation to a normal European state will be a matter of generations rather than years. This new perception has emerged partly as a result of Russian conduct and partly in response to tough congressional pressure, particularly from Sen. Mitch McConnell, who has advocated close cooperation with Ukraine.

In a recent op-ed article for the *New York Times* Mr. Talbott signaled the U.S. shift when he asserted: "Russia is stepping up its call for economic and political integration. . . . we oppose

(Continues on page 64)

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1996

Dear Rusty,

This is going to be a quick one. Little Al and I are conducting an experiment, and I can't take too much time from it.

We're watching television. We've been glued to the set since seven o'clock this morning, and we're going to try to watch until dinnertime.

It was Little Al's idea. "Dad," he said, "you talk a lot about all the bad stuff that's on TV, but I don't think I've ever seen anything bad on TV."

"You have an excellent point, son," I said. I haven't had much time to really sit in front of the set and "vege" out, as the kids say. Bill and I have been too busy leading the nation and supervising AmeriCorps. But after the White House Summit of leaders in the television industry, well, I knew I was a little bit behind. In the first place, I'm not really sure who the *Friends* are—though I'm pretty sure I don't want Little Al to know either. But the minute it came up in the conference, Bill just lit up: "Oh yeah—love that show," he said, "we ought to get Jennifer Aniston involved in this—we ought to get her to come to the White House."

"Can do, Mr. President," said Bob Wright, the head of NBC. "We'll get the whole dang cast of *Friends* and *ER* right here to salute you in the wisdom you have shown by not auctioning the remaining spectrum."

"Just Jennifer, okay?"

"As you wish, sir," Wright said, "and insofar as the spectrum auction is concerned—"

Just then, Bob Iger, the head of ABC/Cap Cities, hustled over. "Mr. President," he said, "about this ratings idea—is there some wiggle room here?"

"I'm not sure I understand the question," Bill said.

"Well, now, take a show like *NYPD Blue*, okay? What I'm saying is, on that show—which airs pretty darn late, nine or ten o'clock—sometimes we'll show—strictly in context, you understand—how do I put this delicately?"

"You show that fat guy's naked hindquarters."

"Yes, sir. Exactly. Okay, we're all on the same page here."

"And I think you shouldn't be allowed to show that. If you absolutely must, then you should rate the show 'adults only,' and the V-chip, which I proposed in my State of the Union message—"

Iger looked taken aback. "Gosh, sir," he said, "I was about to ask if we'd be out of line to once in a while show the naked top half of a feisty young policewoman, but if you're dead set against—"

"Let me finish," Bill said. The "V-chip, and a set of ratings, should not be imposed without careful consideration."

"I've got an idea!" Bob Iger exclaimed. "What if the ratings were voluntary?"

"I love it!" Bill cried.

Peter Lund, the head of CBS, pushed over. "And the V-chip could be removable!" he shouted.

"Or," Bill added thoughtfully, "it could have an on-off switch hidden somewhere so your wife couldn't tell."

"Better," Lund said.

I was happy that the meetings were going so well. Bill and I are going to need the support of the television industry. They have a sacred duty to use the airwaves responsibly. In a way, they should treat the people's airwaves with the same care that we treat the people's money. I made a mental note to pass this analogy on to Bill for use on the campaign trail.

"So, what?" I heard Bill say to Bob Iger as they headed to lunch. "She'll be, like, in bed or something and then suddenly sit up or roll over?"

"Or she could be in the shower, Mr. President, toweling off."

"Yeah, yeah, I see how that could be contextual."

"Totally. Totally contextual."

"And you could just kind of reach around and click off that V-chip—"

"Just click it off, Mr. President," Iger agreed.

"Could you make that V-chip go three ways? You know, on, off, and a setting where . . ."

"Where if she dropped the towel . . . ?"

"Yeah, exactly. Exactly."

"Mr. President, I see no reason why not. The era of big government is over. Let the era of big entertainment begin."

So here I am, channel surfing. And let me tell you, there are a lot of programs on in the middle of the day that are totally unfit for children. I caught Little Al watching a program that included the most shockingly explicit sexual descriptions. Granted, it was the opening arguments of the Paula Jones sexual harassment suit on Court TV, but—in the middle of the day? I made Little Al switch to an old Western. A gunfight is easier to explain.

Your pal, Al

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Corcyraeanization

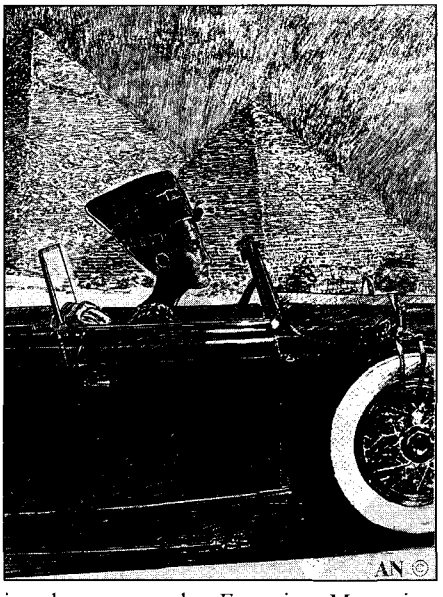
THOMAS G. PALAIMA

IN his case study of the horrors of civil strife within the Greek city-state of Corcyra, Thucydides clinically describes how opposing factions, in their pursuit of power and hatred of one another, dehistoricized the meanings of words and ideas and invented new ones. The Greek historian would consider it a small and predictable historical irony that recent factional warfare in the Balkan peninsula, where Corcyra itself is located, has made "Balkanized" the fashionable replacement for "Corcyraean" or "Orwellian" in discussions of such phenomena. But with what measure of irony would Thucydides observe the process of dehistoricization and intellectual "Balkanization" within American higher education that is the subject of this book?

In the 1950s, as Bob Connor has remarked, the architects of American foreign policy conceived of the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in Thucydidean terms and planned strategy for the Cold War accordingly. They had studied the "father of scientific history" at their prep schools, colleges, or universities, and

Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History, by Mary Lefkowitz (Basic, 240 pp., $24)

they understood the value of his analyses. At the same time, George G. M. James, a college teacher in Arkansas, was writing *Stolen Legacy: The Greeks Were Not the Authors of Greek Philosophy, but the People of North Africa, Commonly Called the Egyptians*. The book appeared in 1954. Its author disregards the principles of historical inquiry developed in Western culture from Thucydides onward. He is thus free to propose that Aristotle stole all of his philosophy from Egypt—we'll discuss the particulars below—and to narrate other surprising facts about the beginnings of the Western intellectual tradition. Pre-Socratic philosophers derived their ideas about the origins of the world from "Memphite theology" transmitted through *Genesis* by Moses, who himself was an initiate into a complete system of learning known as the Egyptian Mysteries. Socrates traveled to Egypt, where he learned about astrology, geology, justice, and the doctrine of self-knowledge. The ancient sources indicating that Socrates traveled outside of Athens only while on military campaigns within Greece are part of a "cover-up," beyond even Oliver Stone's imaginings, of Socrates' Egyptian sojourn. Plato derived many of his key doctrines from "Memphite theology" and plagiarized entire treatises that are now ascribed to him. This makes Socrates, of course, merely the "alleged teacher of Plato."



Alan Nahigian

In sum, James denied that the ancient Greeks had any intellectual or creative powers of their own. They therefore stole from black Egyptian civilization all the cultural forms that, since the Renaissance, we have considered part of our Greek heritage. James never explained why a "contentious and noncontemplative people" would have gone to all the bother that such colossal thievery and deception would entail. But he argues that, for racist reasons, white European culture has hidden from black culture the fact of this wholesale cultural pilfering.

Absurd. Preposterous. Until now in American society an intelligent person could dismiss James's theories as nonsense, and racist nonsense at that, without a second thought. Most intellectuals still have never heard of *Stolen Legacy*. Unlike Socrates, none of us would have known what we did not know, nor would Mary Lefkowitz have written the book under review, had not a Sinologist at Cornell University in 1987, by self-admission in response to a mid-life crisis, begun to argue an even more comprehensive Afrocentric case. Martin Bernal's two *Black Athena* volumes and the public interest they inspired lent legitimacy, within American higher education, to the entire Afrocentrist intellectual movement of which *Stolen Legacy* is an important component. Like *Stolen Legacy*, Bernal's volumes satisfied the social, psychological, and even political needs of Afrocentrists, but, unlike the earlier work, they have all the trappings of legitimate scholarship. Bernal's "trickle-up" strategy of making his radical and, as we see here, hardly original thesis a media event ensured that the academy could not ignore his theories. They have been examined, discussed, and refuted by specialists, and most would have been consigned to decent obscurity but for the strong political voltage in Afrocentrism. Any rational discrediting of Afrocentrist theories meets with immediate charges of racism. Professor Lefkowitz's personal experiences at Wellesley, when she has tried to question the basic tenets of rad-

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ical Afrocentrism, prove that "preposterous" and "absurd" are no longer permissible responses, even when they are supported by closely reasoned historical arguments. The discipline of history is itself racially suspect and therefore rejected.

Why should individuals across the political spectrum read what Mrs. Lefkowitz has written and care about the issues she addresses? In a word, "Balkanization" or, for the sake of nostalgia, "Corcyraeanization." Readers who understand the significance of the latter word can take up *Not Out of Africa* for the pleasure of having their hard-acquired knowledge validated. They may also derive a perverse amusement from reading about the alternative techniques used by an Afrocentrist speaker and by Mrs. Lefkowitz's own colleagues to dismiss her objection that Aristotle could not have stolen Egyptian Mystery texts from the Library of Alexandria for the simple reason that he died before Ptolemy I Soter and Demetrius of Phaleron even got going on the Library. The speaker outdoes Frank Lloyd Wright in mastery of imperturbable disdain. A colleague shows impatience with Professor Lefkowitz's tiresome concern for historical truth: "I don't care who stole what from whom."

To her credit, Mrs. Lefkowitz has not seized the chance to write a broad lampoon, but addresses the serious problems here seriously. She argues sympathetically that Afrocentrist scholars do themselves and their students a disservice by refusing to test their ideas according to long-established scholarly criteria. "Know thyself," whether Delphic or Egyptian, is still a valid dictum.

Mrs. Lefkowitz lays out with meticulous clarity how limited the Greek debt to Egypt was, the difficulties Greeks from Herodotus onward faced in getting reliable information about Egyptian culture, the non-existence in the Library of Alexandria of any systematic compendium of Egyptian learning, and the mostly anecdotal basis of accounts of the debts of Greek thinkers to Egyptian wisdom. From my scholarly experience with would-be decipherers and even with Bernal and Bernalites, I guarantee that none of this will persuade confirmed Afrocentrists. All such thinkers inhabit a simultaneous universe of logic and reasoning. Only posit what some want to believe and those same some will follow.

Mrs. Lefkowitz also explains how the myth of Egypt as the *fons et origo* of all European learning and culture was invented in the eighteenth century in a popular *Bildungsroman*. It was then embedded in the lore of Freemasonry, and finally taken up by influential figures in the struggle for black rights in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By tracing an intellectual pedigree from Terrasson through Blyden, Du Bois, and Garvey to James, Mrs. Lefkowitz reveals that Afrocentrism is not a passing fancy of this half-century. It is long-established doctrine in certain black intellectual circles. Challenging its premises by applying Thucydidean historical methods will be just as effective as appealing to Darwin in discussions with creationists.

The frightening message of *Not Out of Africa*, then, is that radically different modes now coexist with genuine historical thought and reasoning in American higher education, with little open challenge. The unifying force of a shared belief in dispassionate, rigorous historical research has been replaced by factional advocacy of self-validating belief systems. What we have here is the Corcyraeanization of the very institutions in our society that should offer students of all backgrounds and persuasions the intellectual tools to examine together the world, present and past. This collective process ideally should lead, Professor Lefkowitz quotes Schlesinger as saying, to "respect for divergent cultures and traditions, and unflinching protection for those unifying ideas of tolerance, democracy, and human rights that make free historical inquiry possible." Tolerance has now taken on a wholly new meaning. History is what any particular faction declares it to be. To find out where this is heading, go read Thucydides. □

Art for an Empty Universe

HADLEY ARKES

ARISTOTLE remarked, in the *Physics*, that if the art were in the material, ships would be growing out of trees. The presence of art indicated the presence of a shaping hand. Art would of course be governed by the laws of matter, but plainly also art was something apart from the world governed by the "deterministic" laws of cause and effect. No laws of physics would produce El Greco's *Annunciation*; and even if we could reproduce the pattern of electrical activity in the brain of Shakespeare, the sequence of neural firings would still not yield the 18th Sonnet.

The Culture of Hope: A New Birth of the Classical Spirit, by Frederick Turner (Free Press, 292 pp., $23)

That ancient understanding seems to be deeply at odds with the scheme offered by Frederick Turner, even as he seeks, in this book, to restore "classical" principles of art. Turner, an occasional contributor to *NR* and a professor at the University of Texas at Dallas, has the advantage at least of beginning with the things nearest at hand, and with complaints that are accessible to people of ordinary understanding: In this age of postmodernism, we have seen shows at the Whitney Museum in New York exhibiting simulated vomit and excrement. Taking the idea of minimalism to the limit of its logic, one artist "mounted" a collection of blank canvases, and the Tate served up to its public an empty gallery.

Turner would reject this arid work as he would reject at the root that collection of self-consciously "modern" pos-

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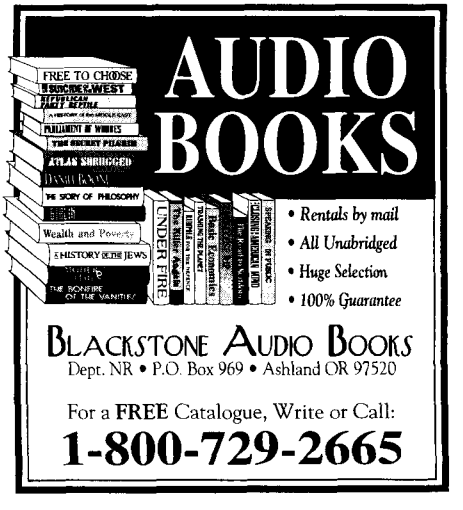

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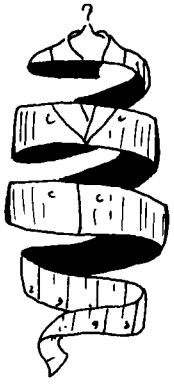
turing from which such travesties have sprung: postmodernism, deconstruction, radical feminism, multiculturalism —they are, as Henry James would say, chapters in the same book. They are simply different expressions of "relativism," and their effect, in the world of art, has been to level hierarchies—to deny the gradations that separate high art from low, the fine from the coarse, the good from the bad. To the modernists, who offer abstractions or blank canvases, Turner opposes the work of artists who would restore a sense of representation: recognizable places or human figures, in situations familiar or alien, yet intelligible, with moods and feelings that stir an instant recognition in the viewer. Turner offers the example of Frederick Hart. Against the funereal design of the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., Hart added the sculpture of three young soldiers. Hart's figures showed in their faces and bodies the strain of that war, and yet the comradeship of fighting men.



But that account of Hart's work is not filled in by Turner, as indeed there is little attempt to fill in an explanation of the work of most of the artists and writers whose names fly past the reader in improbable clusters. Evidently, Turner does not take it as his purpose to look closely at the work of these artists in an effort to draw out the features that define the "classical" character of their art. Instead, he soars off into the higher reaches of theory, in a strange exercise in "futurology" where he can now encompass, in a majestic sweep, crystalography and electrochemistry, turbulence and feedback, poetry and dry cleaning. Names, titles come rushing past: Beethoven's *Fidelio*, Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima*, Melina Mercouri —all strung together as if a vast pot of names would somehow make up the "grand synthesis" that Turner professes to seek. With the air of bringing the news, he announces "cross-cultural and neuropsychological studies," now apparently confirming that certain ingredients in art—musical scale, tonality, pictorial representation—"are built into our makeup as human beings." They will not be confined to one place or "culture." And yet, Cicero long ago wrote at length, in "The Orator," on the natural reflex of any audience to wince in the presence of a discordant note on a lyre or an unseemly rhythm of speech. No one supposed he was referring to the habits merely of a *Roman* audience.

Only in a time affected by the confusions of cultural relativism would anyone think it novel to suggest that there are understandings of form and beauty that remain the same in all places. Why then the need to launch out into the more distant realms of futurology?

On the face of things, nothing in the razzmatazz about technology and genomes and DNA would seem to affect the nature of art or the question of what art has to teach. But these sallies into futurology provide, for Turner, a showy cover for a simple purpose: he relies on an up-to-date view of the cosmos for the sake mainly of installing a rather primitive relic of modernism—namely, Darwinism. Once again, the details and the intricacies in the argument are lost in the sweep of the narrative. Turner is apparently innocent of the problems that torment even committed Darwinists in our own time. There is no mention of the failure of the accumulated fossil evidence, and especially of the new evidence from molecular biology, to confirm the theories of Darwinism. Still less is there any recognition of the deeper problems that have plagued Darwinism as empirical science: most notably the failure to state hypotheses in a form that would actually lend itself to empirical confirmation or falsification. The record of evidence and the strange weakness of the case have been summarized recently by Phillip Johnson in *Darwin on Trial*. Johnson has also made clear the truth that cannot quite speak its name: that Darwinism is really a brand of metaphysics; that it posits, as the source of species and evolution, a cause that cannot be confirmed and cannot be subjected to the test of evidence. For Darwinism, the cause of all things is as mysterious, and as cut off from empirical testing, as the presence of a Creator. And in fact, as Johnson points out, the function of Darwinism for many of its practitioners is mainly to deny the existence of a Creator and the presence of a purpose in the universe.

For Turner, the "culture of hope" is "evolutionary hope." The "classical" nature of art will now be redefined by incorporating, in the premises of art, a universe motored by "evolution." But by evolution, Turner seems to mean mainly "change," but, even more emphatically, a universe without a purpose or a Creator. The "new evolutionary universe," he says, does not require an "outside creator and arranger"; it contains, rather, its own "internal creative and organizational impulse." The universe is "self-renewing, self-ordering," and yet not entirely, for it seems to need a helping hand, and that is where "art" comes in: Turner declares that "we are, I believe, charged with [the] continuance [of this universe]; and the way that we continue it is art."

"Charged with"? In the sense of an *obligation*, a moral duty? But from what would any moral duty spring? From the notably non-moral fact that the universe is powering itself, without a moral purpose, how are we to move to the conclusion that this state of affairs is somehow "good," desirable, that it merits our exertions to preserve and advance it? At several points, in the first chapter of *Genesis*, it is recorded that God looked at the Creation, in its advancing stages, "and God saw that it was good." But in Turner's universe, there is no God to vouchsafe that goodness, and it is not at all clear just what supplies the moral predicate for his vast moral conclusions.

It used to be understood that moral obligations presupposed the existence of "moral agents," creatures who can understand matters of right and wrong. But in Turner's universe, "human beings emerged from the mutual interactions of cultural and biological evolution." That is to say, we are creatures thrown off in the workings of a universe that is unaffected by a moral purpose. And so, in Turner's curious universe, there are moral beings but no moral ends. But presumably nature and evolution make nothing in vain. Why would evolution have cast up beings with moral understanding when there were no moral purposes to be discerned? Why have a faculty of moral knowing with no moral truths to be known? Professor Turner has succeeded then in placing Aristotle on his ear: the ships apparently do grow out of the trees. A sublime art has come into existence without an artist, and without a design.

When Turner declares near the end that "there should be a renewal of the moral foundations of art," he makes a grand rhetorical flourish, but he has put in place a structure that virtually empties this declaration of its substance. Turner senses that the insistence on

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"moral foundations" in art is taken as a mark of seriousness, and so he adds it as an embellishment to his design. But he achieves then a certain symmetry: he would restore "classical" principles and morality in art, while evacuating the moral convictions that imparted meaning to them both.

For Turner a "new nature of religion" will offer another grand synthesis that incorporates Buddhism, Hinduism, and Shintoism, along with Judaism, Christianity, and anything else that vaguely engages what he calls "spiritual values." In other words, everything may be encompassed as long as we remove the things that give to each religion its character and integrity. But in this vast, enveloping scheme, there is one thing that cannot be accommodated: as Turner makes clear, there is no place for the God of the Bible. In fact he finally lays it out, with a stinging candor, that God stands as an adversary to the understanding of art and the universe that pervades this book:

> The notion that life in all its complexity should have a single, fixed little moral having to do with pleasing an omnipotent Father who knows everything that is going to happen and who must give His permission for anything to happen at all—who is merely, as it were, playing a game with us, performing a loyalty-check on us that can involve gas-chambers and child starvation and AIDS . . . —is, as the modernists rightly and stoutly maintained, obscene. . . . God's Plan is and always has been a direct attack on all art, science, and morality; because art cannot be painting by numbers, because science must reserve judgment, because morality must be its own reward and punishment.

But in such a universe, what becomes the ground of "hope" for this so-called "culture of hope"? It would seem, in the end, to be this: "the universe's ingenious and Falstaffian contrivances for delaying payment of its thermodynamic debt." In other words, there is a certain worldly faith that the doomsayers, mainly on the Left, will be wrong; that humans can somehow be counted on to bring forth the inventiveness, the wit, even the goodness to avert the dangers that beset us. In this, I am inclined to think that Turner is eminently right-headed. But why, to make that modest point, does he find it necessary to engage in a frenzy of dubious science, and produce a Godless universe purged of moral substance? Perhaps he has absorbed, from Zorba the Greek, a touch of madness, or he has been so seized by metaphors that he has run even beyond the generous bounds of sobriety. It may simply be, in that line of Mrs. Malaprop, that he has become "as headstrong as an allegory on the Nile." □

Myrdal's America

LINO A. GRAGLIA

THIS book points out something that should be obvious but nonetheless requires constant restatement: that legally required preferences on the basis of race or sex are inconsistent with the principle of equality of persons before the law and therefore with the maintenance of a democratic society. It is not surprising that such preferences should find their origin to an important extent, as the authors show, in the work of an ardent anti-democrat, the Swedish lawyer-economist Gunnar Myrdal. Myrdal, a founder of the Swedish welfare state, favored government by a "party of intelligence" which, though it "despises the democratic principle," would for practical reasons work within a democratic framework. American constitutional law precisely achieves this ideal, allowing democratic policymaking to proceed, but subject to the approval of the Justices of the Supreme Court.

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The New Color Line: How Quotas and Privilege Destroy Democracy, by Paul Craig Roberts and Lawrence M. Stratton (Regnery, 247 pp., $24.95)

In 1937, Myrdal received a $300,000 grant from the Carnegie Foundation to study the "Negro Problem" in the United States—another example of the contribution made by the tax-free foundations to the undoing of American society. The result was the publication in 1944 of *An American Dilemma*, in

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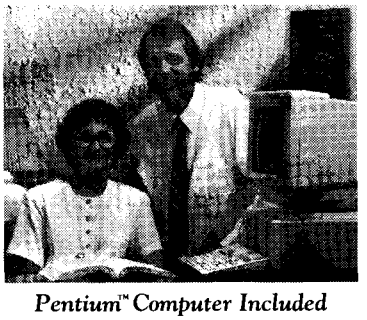

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which Myrdal denigrated America's "extreme democracy" as an impediment to overcoming what he saw as the country's pervasive racism. He thought that racial segregation could not be ended through ordinary political or social processes, and he hoped to have the Supreme Court declare it "flagrantly illegal." In fact, as the authors show, segregation was well on its way to being ended in the schools—as it had been in baseball in 1947 and the Armed Services in 1948—when the Supreme Court attempted to outlaw it by judicial fiat in the 1954 *Brown* decision.

Justice Felix Frankfurter, a former Harvard law professor, considered Myrdal's book "indispensable" and manipulated the judicial process to implement the social engineering it proposed. When *Brown* was first argued in 1952, it appeared that the Court would not outlaw segregation, and so Frankfurter maneuvered to have the case re-argued and the decision postponed for two years. The intervening death of Chief Justice Fred Vinson and his replacement with Earl Warren was greeted by Frankfurter as "the best evidence I have seen of the existence of God." Frankfurter, the authors relate, "conspired with the solicitor general's office to shape the Justice Department's briefs and oral argument in a manner designed to sway his colleagues on the Court." He consulted with and revealed Court deliberations to his former law clerk Philip Elman, who was handling the case for the government: "In the judicial equivalent of insider trading, Frankfurter and Elman frequently discussed *Brown* by telephone and in person."

After using "confidential information from Frankfurter to shape the Truman Administration's *Brown* brief," Elman successfully urged a reluctant Eisenhower Administration also to file a brief urging the Supreme Court to declare segregation unconstitutional. Even the *New York Times* later found that Frankfurter and Elman's acts were "deeply disturbing" and had "crossed a clear ethical line." Elman explained, however, that *Brown* involved "a cause that transcended ordinary notions about propriety in litigation."

Yet school segregation ended not as a result of the *Brown* decision—the Court's unprincipled "all deliberate speed" decision of a year later in effect granted permission for an indefinite period of noncompliance—but as a result of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Act ratified and extended what Congress (and everyone else) understood to be the *Brown* principle, a prohibition of all racial discrimination by government. *Brown* thus came to be seen as a great moral victory, and decision-making by the Supreme Court on the basis of moral principle as greatly superior to decision-making by politicians subject to electoral constraints. This perception allowed the Court to move on to many other "moral" victories, such as the removal of restrictions on abortion and pornography, the imposition of a novel liberalized code of criminal procedure on the states, prohibition of all distinctions based on illegitimacy, and the abolition of prayer and Bible reading in public schools.

The new role of the courts as the nation's conscience has permitted a moral leader such as Judge Leonard Sand—living on a "32-acre estate in the picturesque Pound Ridge region of northern Westchester County" in New York—to condemn the people of Yonkers as racist for failing to build subsidized public housing in middle-class neighborhoods. It permitted Judge Russell Clark to order Kansas City, Missouri, "to build a luxurious $700-million school system to draw whites back into inner-city public schools." Today nearly every state has at least one hyperactivist federal judge serving as the guardian of its conscience in the name of the Constitution. In a word, as a result of *Brown*, we have achieved rule by Myrdal's "party of intelligence"—principally the disaffected academic Left—through the medium of federal judges.

No sooner was the *Brown* non-discrimination principle adopted and made effective by the 1964 Civil Rights Act than the courts, ever seeking new moral victories, proceeded to stand both *Brown* and the Act on their heads. In *Swann* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, the first busing case, *Brown*'s and the Act's prohibition of racial discrimination in school assignment was converted into a requirement of racial discrimination in order to achieve "racial balance" in the schools. In *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Co.* and *Steelworkers* v. *Weber*, the Act's prohibition of racial discrimination in employment became an effective requirement of discrimination against whites. In *Regents* v. *Bakke*, the Act's prohibition of racial discrimination by colleges, universities, and other institutions that receive federal funds was found not to be applicable to whites.

Much of this, the authors point out, as if to make the story even more discouraging, was the work of so-called conservatives. For example, George Shultz and Laurence Silberman, as officials in the Nixon Administration, instituted racial quotas in employment with their Philadelphia Plan. Warren Burger, "Nixon's Chief Justice," wrote the opinions for the Court in both *Swann* and *Griggs*, surely two of the most destructive judicial decisions in our history. C. Boyden Gray, Legal Counsel to President Bush, worked to convince Republican congressmen that the 1991 Civil Rights Act was not the quota bill it so clearly is. "Conservatives" in public life are thus able to establish their good intentions and remain on good terms with the Left, which is often politically useful, while also showing their adherence to principle and sense by later admitting their "mistake," when unfortunately the damage has been permanently done.

One is tempted to hope that some of the authors' reports of "diversity" measures are in error or intended as jokes. Is it really credible, for example, that the U.S. Forest Service posted job notices for firefighter positions stating that "only unqualified applicants . . . only applicants who do not meet standards will be considered"? Or that a Federal Aviation Administration job announcement similarly stated that "applicants who meet the qualification requirements . . . cannot be considered for the position"? Or that the FAA, committed to filling "one out of every two vacancies with a diversity selection," instructed its managers that "the merit promotion process . . . need not be utilized if it will not promote your diversity goals"? These things, unfortunately, are probably no less true than, for example, that the University of Texas Law School has officially set scores for the automatic admission of black applicants that are *lower* than the scores set for the automatic *rejection* of whites. It is undeniably true that when Congress cut off student loans to colleges with excessive defaults, the statute expressly stated that "historically black colleges and universities are exempted."

The result of this and other such measures is to make clear, as the authors point out, that "minorities don't have to play by the same rules" as other people. The clear message of "affirmative action" and "diversity" programs is that blacks—continuously victimized, as

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Myrdal taught, by white racism—cannot justly be required to comply with the standards applicable to whites. It is a message designed to destroy that good will between blacks and whites without which the maintenance of an integrated, multiracial society is not possible. □

Dead Center

RICH LOWRY

RECENTLY when Senator Bill Cohen announced his plans to retire, the moderate Maine Republican appeared on *MacNeil-Lehrer*. A tight-lipped Jim Lehrer interviewed Cohen—who, having published two books of poetry and co-written a spy novel with Gary Hart, is what passes for thoughtful in the U.S. Senate—about how the Senate just isn't the same. Contentious debate, name-calling, sharp ideological divides—just what has American government come to? Clearly it was time for a 25-year politician with the decency, sensible commitment to good government, and sheer senatorial bearing of Bill Cohen (the key is the prominent forehead) to get out before something untoward happened.

They Only Look Dead: Why Progressives Will Dominate the Next Political Era, by E. J. Dionne Jr. (Simon & Schuster, 336 pp., $24)

Reading *They Only Look Dead*, the latest book by E. J. Dionne, is like watching that segment, except without the benefit of the mute button. The *Washington Post*'s Mr. Dionne is the columnist of the third way. Always, there is a sensible center, a mainstream solution to whatever knotty public-policy problem, if only both Republicans and Democrats would stop pandering to voters and start governing with the high-mindedness of the Senator Cohens of the world. It's an attitude that does not wear well in a seven-hundred-word column, let alone a three-hundred-page book. But E. J. Dionne exemplifies the elite brand of disdain for politics that exists in a strange symmetry with the rougher, more populist version.

As politicians find better ways to tap into the populist anger, purveyors of establishment opinion find more reasons to shake their heads. After the November 1994 election the words that Speaker Newt Gingrich had suggested that Republican candidates use to characterize their opponents—"liberal," "corrupt," etc.—got scandalized coverage from the media as if they had been illicit contributions. The words, after all, were used to divide people. At a recent American Enterprise Institute forum, former House Minority Leader Bob Michel—decent, bipartisan, ineffectual—explained how Gingrich failed to understand the policy implications of the first 1990 budget deal, which he helped to scuttle. There were knowing twitters in the audience: poor Newt, he just didn't get it.

Needless to say, confrontation and division are the stuff that makes government go. The underlying reason for elite disdain for them is that they take politics out of the zone where all "reasonable" people agree, and open the way to non-sanctioned solutions. In a sense, the politics of Gingrich's showboaty, divisive, ultimately unsuccessful effort to bring down the 1990 budget deal led to the Republican majority in 1994 and its budget, which broke all the rules by balancing the books and cutting taxes. At a deeper level, as the political scientist James Sundquist argued, the process of re-alignment is completed as moderates of both parties flake off, leaving ideologically opposed majority and minority parties. So, Senator Cohen—good riddance.

The chief argument of *They Only Look Dead*, of course, is that such a realignment is not occurring. Mr. Dionne takes on a particularly onerous task in trying to forge a case for a progressive revival, and so he is to be forgiven for leaving the kernel of his argument for a thinnish final chapter. He concedes that two of the more prominent legacies of progressive politics in America—an overweening Federal Government and contempt for the values of average Americans—were mistakes. What's left? A sort of third way, it turns out, between the excesses of Gingrich conservatism and

Mr. Lowry is NR*'s national political reporter.*

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the old liberalism. Dionne tries to erect a new progressive program mostly on the issues of "economic security" (wage stagnation and inequality, eroding health benefits, etc.) and civic renewal, enlisting a chastened Federal Government to promote both.

There are just two problems. 1) When it comes to wages, clearly the most effective way to boost them is economic growth, which implies policies freeing the market rather than constraining it. (The government training programs always invoked by Dionne and others are almost universal disasters.) 2) Civic renewal, insofar as it means government surrendering the lead role in society to more effective, private actors, is a Republican issue, which makes it an unlikely rallying cry for liberals. It's a sign of the fecklessness of Mr. Dionne's vision that there were echoes of it in President Clinton's exquisitely hedged State of the Union address this January. Who knows? Clinton may manage to ride his ambivalence back into the White House. But if the third way is enough to win the odd election, no one outside Jim Lehrer and his guests is likely to mistake it for a platform for a new era in American government. □

IN DISPUTE

Dream Weaver

JEFFREY HART

RICHARD Weaver is an intercsting figure somewhat on the margins of conservative awareness. In his spirited review discussing Weaver (*NR*, Jan. 29) Ben C. Toledano raised some important issues that deserve meditation.

The Weaver argument, supported by Mr. Toledano, goes something like the following: American conservatism is self-contradictory at its heart because it embraces a series of polarities that cannot be reconciled: tradition and capitalism, religious and secular valucs, permanent norms and a market economy.

Behind these polarities lies Ferdinand Tönnies's famous distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* as two models of society. The German words are usually translated as "culture" or "community," and "society." The purest form of *Gemeinschaft* might be an extended family functioning as an agricultural commune. The purest form of *Gesellschaft* would be a fully rationalized factory. Tönnies used these as ideal models, not as descriptions of any actual societies.

It seems to me that such terms as "tradition" and "capitalism" as used in the discourse of Weaver and in Mr. Toledano's review are abstractions that comport only uneasily with lived experience. Take, for example, the word "materialism." Of course, everyone is against it. But is a piece of Paul Revere silver merely "material"? Is a fine chair "material," or even a not so fine but favorite chair? When you listen to your CD player, are you being merely a materialist consumer? In lived experience material things collect essences and meanings. Unless one is bemused by reductions and abstractions there seems to be no doubt that within a (largely) market economy there are going to be all sorts of non-economic groupings and activities that exercise a powerful influence on life as it is actually lived.

I choose one example as apropos of Weaver's "Southernness." A few blocks from the offices of NATIONAL REVIEW there stands the imposing Union League Club. The club dates back to the Civil War, and portraits of Union officers and politicians decorate its walls. No doubt its members are involved in one way or another in the market economy, but at their club they do not function as "economic men."

For that matter, anyone who tried to function entirely as an economic man, a mere predator of the cash nexus, would undoubtedly fail in business. There will always be relationships of trust, unspoken understandings, settled expectations about behavior, things that must be "honored" (an interesting word). An "economic man" would be a feral monster with no partners or customers. None other than J. P. Morgan said that a banker's integrity is his most precious asset, and there is no known instance of Morgan breaking his word.

Surely there are very few (perhaps no?) neighborhoods that do not possess important non-economic institutions: churches, softball teams, golf or tennis clubs, volunteer firefighters, fishing or bowling clubs, women volunteers, loyal college alumni. Neighborhoods usually have a local saloon or restaurant which in fact is a sort of club, and where strangers do not feel quite comfortable. Many season tickets to professional football stadiums are not on the market at all, but are passed down in wills from one generation to another. The *Gemeinschaft* in all of its non-economic aspects does penetrate and condition the *Gesellschaft*.

It seems to me that the "Southernness" of Richard Weaver's work too often rests upon an abstraction from historical reality. Perhaps, in Chicago, he had a sort of dream of the South. He makes polarizations between South and North, traditional community and capitalism, agriculture and the market economy, tradition and innovation, that to a considerable degree are abstractions masquerading as actual entities.

The cotton South was capitalist, no doubt about that. Its antebellum prosperity came from a machine, the cotton gin. The Northern blockade certainly showed the relationship between the cotton South and those mills of Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds. The essence of the Southern economy was trade and money.

The hard men who ran the South certainly tried to put their region on a full war footing. They built railroads and munitions works, and did everything they could to modernize. It was not for want of trying that their effort fell short. I doubt that the young men from Maine and New Jersey and Illinois who fought in northern Virginia and elsewhere were any less traditional than their opponents. For that matter I would say Lincoln was a much more traditional personality than the brittle and ideological Jefferson Davis.

Mr. Toledano notices that Weaver rejected "organized religion." That figures. Religion in its organized forms has its history, legends, heroes, traditions, and shared experience—much like other human activities. For all of its many strengths, Richard Weaver's work does not seem to me to have the fiber and

Mr. Hart is an NR *senior editor.*

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verisimilitude that come from the presence of history and shared experience. Plato was the master of abstraction, but there is no doubt that his dialogues take place in a very specific Athens. Weaver, perhaps in his actual isolation, seemed to forget what lived, non-abstract social existence is like.

I admit that fine conservative political philosophers entirely disagree with me. The late Willmoore Kendall thought Weaver had in effect provided the needed completion to *The Federalist*, i.e., a theoretical grounding. Weaver thus articulated the intuitive norms of Kendall's Virtuous People. I can understand that position, if not really share it.

It is a fine thing that the works of Richard Weaver are being reissued and will be revived in discussion. I do think him an uncertain guide to a fully imagined American conservatism. □

FILM

Dying Adults, Wounded Kids

JOHN SIMON

A YUGOSLAV film that tries to come to grips with its country's tragedy is well worth attending to. ***Vukovar*** concerns life and death in a small Croatian town near the Serbian border, where, as the film begins, a young couple about to marry are painting the groom's family house. Ana, the Catholic Croat, and Toma, the Greek Orthodox Serb, are boundlessly in love. The TV announces the fall of the Berlin Wall along with that of Communism in Russia. All is well with the world, right? Wrong.

The two families get along nicely, though some neighbors frown at such a friendship. Suddenly, across the country just as in little Vukovar, small hostilities flare up, and Toma is drafted into the mostly Serbian Yugoslav army. Some members of the family emigrate to Sweden, but both sets of parents elect to stand fast where they feel they belong. Eventually, almost all will wind up dead. "Look how smartly the Danube flows today," Toma had said to Ana as they walked entwined by their beloved river. Now dead bodies begin to float in it. "Fear not," someone remarks, "we're not in Beirut." But we are. "The world will prevent it," someone was saying. A wiser voice answered, "What are we to the world? A hunting ground."

Boro Drašković, who directed the movie, is a Serb of mixed Croat and Bosnian parentage, and he and his wife, the co-writers, have steered an almost mathematically evenhanded course. After a Croat outrage comes a Serbian one; after some worthy Serbs, we encounter some decent Croats. To my Yugoslav ears, there is true poignance in the variety of accents and dialects, especially in the army scenes, where the phenomenon no one there would have called multiculturalism surfaces most tellingly. One realizes both how easily these diverse people could get along, and how readily, goaded by circumstances, they could turn on one another.

The film is particularly apt in its portrayal of how small animosities escalate into big ones. When Ana, for her safety, returns to live with her Croat parents—she is expecting Toma's baby—two Croat militiamen come snooping. The younger's behavior is clearly more menacing; he seems to eye Ana as a whore, and her folks as traitors. When the elder declines the offered glass of brandy, the younger, with ostentatious greed, drains both glasses. The scene, although restrained, throbs with threats for the future.

When full horror sets in, it is as powerful as anything seen on film. Ana's friend Ratka, who has lost her husband in the fighting, is with Ana when four Serbs, calling themselves "dogs of war," enter to pillage. As Ratka's little daughter watches, the men proceed to rape the women in the most bestial ways. The child looks on in blank bafflement, but when the women are left lying ravaged, an inscrutable half-smile suffuses her young face. It is almost more frightening than the rapes.

There is a heartbreaking meeting between the just-ravished Ana and Toma, who has fought his way back into the

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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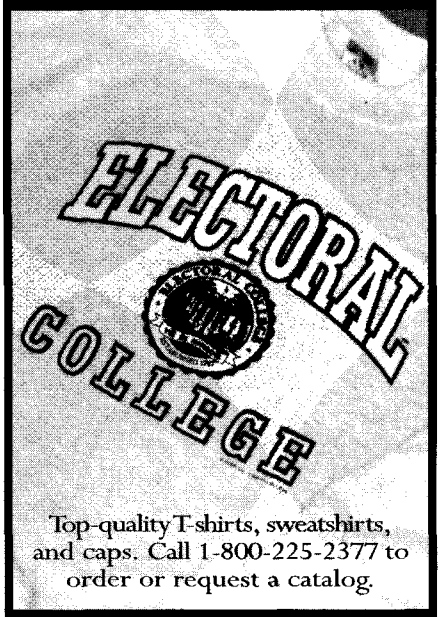

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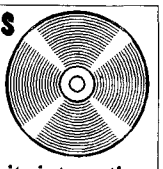

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house. She tells him expressionlessly not to worry about her: "The important thing is that you are alive and well and on the right side."

"And which is the right side?" he asks dejectedly.

Vukovar is full of such incisive moments, though it sometimes overshoots the mark. Ana goes off to buy bread for her parents with the last gold trinket she has left. On the way home, a woman tries unsuccessfully to snatch the loaf; Ana runs after her and gives her half. Next, she arrives to see her shelled home go up in flames, with her parents inside. Haunted by the last look she caught on her mother's face, the dazed Ana wanders through the ruined nocturnal town to come upon some hideous *Macbeth*-ish hags stirring a foul-looking brew. Inviting her to partake, as they point out that the hogs they made it from fed on corpses, they ask, giggling, "Is this pork or human flesh?" Excessive, no doubt, but quite possibly true.

"Why this war in which everybody loses?" someone asks. The film hovers around this question, doggedly and helplessly. The final, wordless sequence is shot, like the rest, in Vukovar. From a plane and a car, the camera surveys mindless devastation. First ruined street upon street; beyond this, endless charred remnants of vegetation. The soundtrack plays the pop song Ana and Toma used to make love to, its lyrics now taking on a ghastly irony. Boris Isaković is very fine as Toma; Mirjana Joković sublime as Ana. Everything she does is nakedly real as, without one false move, she goes from the extremes of bliss to ultimate abjection. Perhaps more than anything else, her performance brings home truths that no amount of newspaper-reading or television-watching could. Want to understand the Yugoslav debacle in all its hopelessness? Here it is.

■ Few films are pure delight, but ***The White Balloon*** is one of these. An Iranian movie directed by Jafar Panahi and written by the distinguished director Abbas Kiarostami, it takes place in real time: the 85 minutes leading up to New Year's in Teheran. A seven-year-old girl, Razieh, wants a goldfish for the ceremonial occasion, but a fat and multi-finned one from the pet shop, not a skinny one from the pool outside the house, with which her mother would have her make do.

Eventually, helped by her adolescent brother, Ali, she wheedles the money out of Mom. On the way to the pet shop, she stops to observe some snake charmers who almost con the money from her, as an amused crowd looks on. But she does make it to the store, only to admit to the owner that she lost the money—a 500-toman bill, from which she is to return 400—but insists that he must not sell "her" fish. A kindly but absentminded old woman walks her back until they come upon the bill, just as it blows through a grate into an air vent below.

Razieh enlists Ali in rescuing the banknote. In the process, the kids get involved with assorted seniors: a tailor quarreling with a disgruntled customer over an allegedly ill-fitting shirt collar, a soldier on leave who tries to befriend Razieh (but there may be something suspect about his motive), a young Afghan balloon seller whose pole may help retrieve the banknote, the shopkeeper into whose cellar vent the money has fallen, and one or two others. The city throbs and pullulates around the children, who are constantly foiled by grown-up indifference to their momentous little problems.

Yet the kids are not sentimentalized. They can be dumb and ridiculous; a neighbor boy is even a bit of a crook. And they can be as callous as they perceive the adults to be. But they are charming. When Razieh forgets about the goldfish to gape at the snake-handling dervishes, it is because "I wanted to see what was not good for me to watch." Sweet. But when she and Ali no longer need the balloon-vending Afghan youth, they abandon him, alone on New Year's. Heartless.

The White Balloon far transcends its fragile plot. It fully conveys a society in which an argument over a shirt collar can become a neighborhood's spectator sport. Even the snake charmers with their conning spiel become fully felt presences. And what acting from these Iranian amateurs! Take Aïda Mohammadkhani as Razieh: the omnivorous eyes surrounded by tremulous baby fat can change from glow to gloom and back in a trice, adorably conveying the capricious climate of childhood. Just look at the way she removes a sweetmeat from inside her skirt, always turning modestly to face a wall. Or observe her and Ali (Mohsen Kalifi) sitting on either side of the money-devouring grate like two bundles of silent misery. Or watch hope and frustration turn those faces into battlegrounds.

Much of the picture was shot from Razieh's point of view in a world no more than waist-high. Yet how sympathetic is this mother (Fereshteh Sadr Orfani) as she struggles to ready the house for New Year's while contending with her children's demands and her husband's bellowed commands. In 85 minutes, *The White Balloon* conjures up lives antipodal to ours, but no farther removed from us than a child's smile from a child's tears.

■ If you like backstage comedies, you'll like Kenneth Branagh's ***A Midwinter's Tale***. If you fancy British humor, you will love this film, called in England *In the Bleak Midwinter*. The title has undergone a sea-change from Christina Rossetti to (sort of) Shakespeare, whose *Hamlet* an unemployed young actor decides to stage in a drafty church. That church is situated in a hamlet called Hope, which is the very thing that winters eternal in the actor's breast. Especially so when, as here, he can elicit the grudging cooperation of his high-powered agent, glamorously played by Joan Collins.

Our hero (Michael Maloney) assembles for the required 24 parts a cast of six desperadoes from a bunch of auditioners you have to see to—perhaps—believe. They include the typical tippler (Gerald Horan), the shrill and accident-prone Ophelia (Julia Sawalha), and a campy homosexual to play the Queen (John Sessions). All six are splendid, particularly Richard Briers as a lofty Shakespearean who, in fact, has never played Shakespeare, but excels at bemoaning the unclassical breed of modern actors. Surpassing all in eccentricity is the designer who calls herself mononymously Fadge, Fa to her intimates. Hard to say what is zanier: the talk of these thespians or their acting. Luckily, their audience matches their limitations.

Not everything here is as riotous as it purports to be. Some jokes may even be too British for the likes of us, but Branagh writes and directs as a manifest connoisseur of catastrophe, and Roger Lanser's black-and-white lensing is entirely condign. Aptly, the film is introduced with Noël Coward's rendition of his "Why Must the Show Go On?" For the same good reason that Mount Everest must be climbed. Or clomb. □

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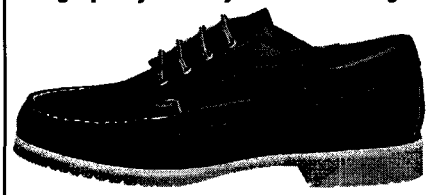

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KARATNYCKY

(Continued from page 52)

coercion and intimidation of neighboring states. We will endorse regional cooperation only so long as it is truly voluntary and only if it opens doors to the outside world."

In a February 22 story on President Kuchma's meetings with President Clinton and Administration officials, the *Washington Post* reported that the U.S. views Ukraine "as a counterweight to any attempt by Moscow to dominate neighboring states." A high-level White House official confirmed to me the accuracy of this report. He then observed: "In the days after the collapse of the USSR, we thought the emergence of Russian democracy was the key to ensuring the democratic transition of Russia's neighbors. Today, the reverse view predominates: the emergence of stable democracies on Russia's periphery—especially in Ukraine—is critical to Russia's emergence as a stable democracy."

Michael Mandelbaum has argued in *Foreign Affairs* magazine the view that the central security issue in Europe is Ukraine. Mandelbaum, who was an advisor to the 1992 Clinton campaign, worries that expanding NATO to include Poland will isolate Ukraine. However, it is hard to see how a Poland that regards itself as isolated and abandoned would be a more reliable ally of Ukraine than a confident Poland anchored in the Western alliance. Moreover, Ukraine has a powerful military and the capability to protect itself from aggression provided it is economically secure. NATO expansion will not isolate or weaken Ukraine if it is accompanied by a Western commitment to provide financial support for Ukraine's energy needs and its transition to a market system.

For the moment, foreign policy does not loom large in the U.S. presidential race. But with the Russian presidential elections on the horizon, events in Eastern Europe will not go away. We are rapidly approaching a critical juncture that will determine the shape of the post–Cold War world. The strategic choices made in the next year will be crucial in deciding whether Central and Eastern Europe will move toward permanent stability, security, and prosperity. If the U.S. exercises its leadership thoughtfully and clearly, such an outcome is within our grasp no matter what choice Russian voters make in June. □

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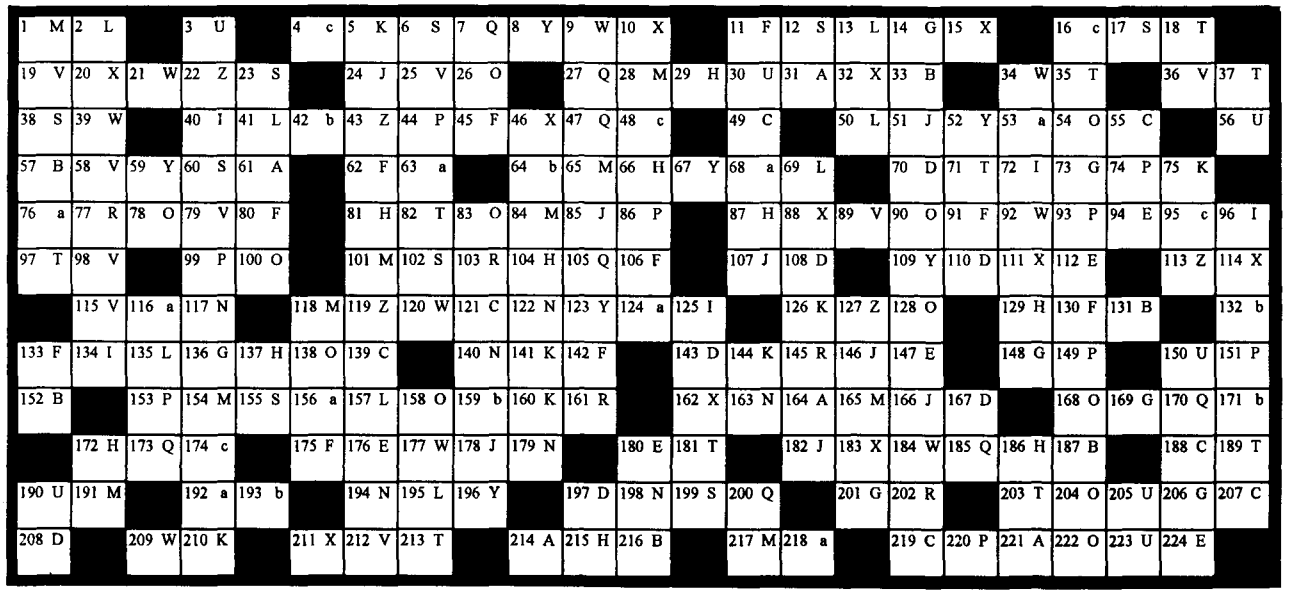
TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



DEFINITIONS

A. Confronted — 214 164 221 31 61

B. Hired, not owned — 216 152 57 33 187 131

C. Learned, well-read — 207 121 188 139 49 55 219

D. The Ming, for instance — 208 110 167 197 70 143 108

E. Jewish heroine, consort of Ahasuerus — 224 112 180 147 176 94

F. Plebiscite — 175 142 91 133 80 45 130 106 11 62

G. Beloved Scott novel — 201 73 136 206 169 148 14

H. His Yorktown surrender turned Britain's world upside down — 186 215 29 104 172 129 66 137 87 81

I. Rascal — 40 96 72 134 125

J. Accredited envoy — 178 85 182 51 166 107 24 146

K. His music charmed Pluto — 210 5 126 141 144 160 75

L. Not yet initiated — 195 41 69 50 2 157 135 13

M. Early phonograph — 165 154 1 217 101 84 118 28 191 65

N. New York Harbor Lady — 198 122 194 117 163 140 179

O. College-entrance hurdle (2 words) — 222 204 128 90 168 83 26 138 158 78 54 100

P. Yorkshire district famed for steel — 220 151 93 149 153 99 74 44 86

Q. Grow foul or sluggish by long standing — 200 7 173 47 185 170 27 105

R. Hades's river of oblivion — 161 103 202 77 145

S. Daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra — 155 102 17 38 23 60 12 6 199

T. Escape, to a chicken (3 words) — 35 71 213 82 37 18 97 203 181 189

U. A part that represents the whole — 205 223 3 150 190 30 56

V. Millerite (rel.) — 212 89 58 98 25 36 79 19 115

W. Heinous — 209 9 92 177 120 21 34 184 39

X. Oppressed — 162 183 211 88 20 15 114 10 46 111 32

Y. Sewing accessory — 196 8 59 52 123 67 109

Z. Asunder (2 words) — 127 22 113 43 119

a. Edith Hamilton's domain — 192 63 76 116 53 124 68 156 218

b. Exertion — 193 64 159 42 132 171

c. Dulcet — 174 4 48 95 16

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definition on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. JOSEPH WARREN: *Boston Oration*: "You surely cannot, with such examples before your eyes as every page of the history of this country affords, suffer your liberties to be ravished from you by lawless force, or cajoled away by flattery and fraud."

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

'Ideology' On Our Mind

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 20

The point has been made, most specifically by *Washington Post* columnist David Broder, that the principal candidates for President shrink from "ideology." Thus Mr. Clinton separates himself from the Gephardt wing of the Democratic Party, and Senator Dole allows a certain amount of water to pass between him and Newt Gingrich.

The whole matter of ideology both vexes and enlightens political thought. The word is used differently in political discourse. The average voter will seek some consistency, or appearance of consistency, in a candidate's platform. The philosopher scorns ideology because too often it overwhelms reason, prudence, philosophy. The word was French and came out of the crucible of the French Revolution, which was the bloody complement of the American Revolution.

Senator Phil Gramm has generally been considered the most consistent of the conservatives running for the Presidency this year. If you believe A, that government activity ought not to replace non-government activity except when required, you will believe B, that the government should not run the local pizza parlor. Ideology is a body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, a group, a class, or a culture (*American Heritage Dictionary*). But ideology is also "a set of doctrines or beliefs" that form the basis of a political, economic, or other system. If your position on a political question derives from a doctrine, then you are committed to subordinating your political position to your doctrinal position. Otherwise, you tend to wobble. Some wobbling is an aspect of political opportunism—Senator Gramm in Iowa did not criticize federal subsidies of the ethanol program, which is a relic of the Department of Energy's extravagances. Sometimes it is an extra-ideological deference to reality (let the Federal Government help Los Angeles after its earthquake).

But then we begin to line up other political questions, to be scrutinized ideologically. And it is here that the word "presumption" is useful. If you believe A—that the government should stay out of the way—you believe this either dogmatically or empirically. Was it right to intervene in Somalia? No, if the undertaking was designed to transform Somalian culture—we should know that this can't be done; we tried and gave up making the world safe for democracy. Yes, if the single objective was to prevent mass starvation. Presumptively, stay out.

What about tariffs? Long ago, conservative doctrine shaped up in favor of free trade. This was, indeed, an extension of anti-government doctrine. A tariff is a tax paid by one American for the benefit of another American. But it is more than that, because it denies to the American consumer the advantage of competitive bidding, and derivatively deprives the foreigner of the wherewithal to patronize American production.

What about educational vouchers? Conservatives will in almost every situation honor the supremacy of the consumer over the regulator, so that if Mrs. Jones wants that school for her child, not the public school, the conservative would seek to expedite the choice. . . . Is that question ideologically related to school prayer? Yes, it is: the state should not intrude its wishes, or its restrictions, in the culture of free men, freely associating with one another.

Immigration? National independence? The state is by no means useless, as the anarchists insist. The state is a "natural" institution, and exercises its authority in matters that relate to the commonweal when these are clearly national concerns. The flow of immigration into a country is self-evidently the proper concern of the state inasmuch as only its agents can say Yes or No at the border. And the traffic needs to be regulated because there is a greater demand than supply. Mr. Fox Butterfield finished his memorable book on Communist China by quoting one Chinese who said that if the means to do so could be found, every Chinese would go to America to live. "Even the lamp posts would go." And sovereignty asserts a recognition that the world has yet to see (or even envision) a cultural unity that combines in acceptable priorities what we have called the American proposition.

So, Mr. Clinton edges away from ideologues in his own party (every problem is a state problem, and every dollar earned is forfeit to the state's agenda), and Senator Dole tries to shape an ideologically lucid opposition that appeals both to voters whose dogma is conservative, and to those whose inclinations are conservative. It is tough going, as much an art as a discipline. □

"What do you mean, 'Bloort'?"

Buchanan And the GOP

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 23

The New Hampshire event throws light primarily on Pat Buchanan even though, at only a point or two ahead of Senator Dole, his victory was nominal. The exhilaration was there, bringing to mind that of Senator Eugene McCarthy in 1968 when even though he did not defeat the sitting President, he came close enough (at 42 per cent) to electrocute Lyndon Johnson. A few weeks later, Johnson announced that he would not run for re-election. What has the Buchanan vote in New Hampshire told his own party?

This is not instantly clear, because many of his positions are also held by other contestants. Steve Forbes is not the original flat-tax man, but he is the flat tax's primary champion—Buchanan, with this or the other modification, agrees. On turning functions over to the states and, where possible, to individuals, Buchanan's position is also that of Lamar Alexander. Senator Dole took a strong stand against the degeneracy of Hollywood and so pleased the social conservatives, to whom Mr. Buchanan speaks eloquently. Buchanan is isolated from the others on two matters, one specific, the other general. He would repeal the two treaties that commit us to free trade, NAFTA and GATT. And he would adopt an isolationist foreign policy. The other three would not.

And yet when Mr. Buchanan speaks of his candidacy he singles it out as entirely unique, a messianic episode. And there is a sense in which he is correct. These things are not up for arithmetical measurement. Suppose one reasonably predicted that on ten positions involving public issues, Buchanan and Alexander (or Dole) would vote the same way on eight. Does that make them in the long perspective indistinguishable?

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The answer is, No. Because Buchanan is a figure whose persona overwhelms the political grid. In Houston in 1992 he declared that the United States was engaged in a war to the death between two cultures, the traditional and the countercultural. Many thought him correct (I do), but his tone was not that of Abraham Lincoln, but that of John Brown. The afflatus is historically distinguished and honored, and as often as not the prophet is martyred. He is seldom brought on, like Churchill, to act as leader.

There is another question, a matter of public and moral psychology. There are those Americans (again, I include myself) who believe that the isolationist temptation, both politically and economically, is a temptation most fiercely to be avoided, since its implications can be lethal. Although I do not believe for one minute that, if he were President, Mr. Buchanan would actually rush to dismantle NATO (any more than I believe that if Dole were President he would immediately balance the budget), the fact is that Buchanan said exactly that. The go-it-alone insularity is reflected in his economic nostrum for demoralized American workingmen: Blame foreigners. Charge the Japanese 10 per cent on imports, the Chinese 20 per cent.

The political conundrum looms, as such wise men as there are in Republican politics acknowledge one thing, namely that there would not be much point in nominating Pat Buchanan with the mission of dispossessing President Clinton, since that is inconceivable. Buchanan is a prophet, not a king. That being so, practical men will pause over how exactly to handle the phenomenon. The memory of George Wallace comes to mind. In 1968 his popular strength was critical: he more or less owned the South, and he had a large following among hardhats in the industrial Midwest. But the Democrats were moving sharply left just then and had no time for him or for conservative Democrats in general. He avenged himself by running as an independent candidate, securing 13.5 per cent of the vote, and ensuring the election of Richard Nixon. Wallace's followers voted Republican for the next twenty years.

The challenge is to detach from Buchanan that in his campaign which the Republican Party ought to concern itself with, and be grateful to him for giving it focus. Buchanan almost singlehandedly revitalized moral political sentiment on the matter of abortion. His call for a national acknowledgment of a common culture has as its symbol a vote against Bilingual America. His earnest suspicion of predatory government is repeated by other candidates, but they are toothless in their language by comparison. The sheer joy with which Buchanan takes his positions is—a joy to hear. A long night with the master cheerleader.

It will end in a few weeks, and then Republicans need to hope that the idealistic imperative of replacing Mr. Clinton will generate the necessary poultices, and mobilize the common will; which requires reorienting America in the general direction fought for by Pat Buchanan. □

You Figure It Out

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27

The most recent objection to the Communications Decency Act was filed on Monday by Microsoft, the American Library Association, and the Society for Professional Journalists. Their arguments are much the same as those of the American Civil Liberties Union filed about eight minutes after the bill was signed by President Clinton. And days after that, the District Court in Philadelphia estopped enforcement of the Act on the grounds that the word "decency" was insufficiently defined. Argument will proceed.

Here are points to consider in this rerun of the People *v.* Obscenity, in which Obscenity regularly wins.

1. The vote in the House was 414 to 16 in favor of the Act. In the Senate, 91 to 5. And of course, President Clinton signed it. That's 506 out of 527 human beings all of whom swore to uphold the Constitution of the United States. Yet learned and experienced men and women who oppose the Act merely laugh at any suggestion that they actually did believe the Act to be constitutional. Specifically, Ira Glasser, the Executive Director of the ACLU, and Susan Estrich, Professor of Law at the University of Southern California, who eight years ago managed the presidential campaign of Michael Dukakis. What's going on here?

2. By way of background, what sometimes is lumped in under obscenity is three categories of material. One is erotica: Literature or art intended to arouse sexual desire (*American Heritage Dictionary*). A second is pornography: Pictures, writing, or other material that is sexually explicit (*AHD*). A third is perversity. This is the stuff of the Marquis de Sade.

3. Perversity is every now and then stopped. A few weeks ago, the felony conviction of Robert and Carleen Thomas was upheld. Their gig was something called Amateur Action, a computer bulletin board that advertised itself as The Nastiest Place on Earth, and featured graphic images of children raped by their parents, and other stuff the fingers balk at even typing.

But the ACLU takes the position that the First Amendment protects any "speech." And indeed it does, but the great swindle of the century has been the transmutation of obscenity into "speech." The absolutists go a long way: burning the American flag is a form of speech, they tell you. This would be understandable if the person protesting American policy were blind and dumb and had available to him to express himself on Capitol Hill only a box of matches and a few American flags. This is not to say that the lines between erotica and pornography or pornography and perversion are clearly drawn, but neither is the line clearly drawn that demands "reasonable" compliance with various provisions of the law.

4. Perspectives change, and they have changed during the past fifty years in the direction of promiscuity. In the early Sixties reasonable people differed on whether *Fanny Hill* was obscene (Answer: Of course it's obscene, and it's a delight). During the Sixties, Simone de Beauvoir was pleading the "right" to read the Marquis de Sade ("Must We Burn de Sade?"). So that the question became muddled: Ought works of obscenity and even perversion be permitted to exist (i.e., should they not be burned?); or, as was the case in France for 175 years, is the work of de Sade something that should be kept in the libraries for the edification of those whose business it is to probe the forlorn atolls of twisted minds?

5. Leaving us with the Internet. There are obscenity laws that apply to television broadcasting, though they are lax; and to radio; and, as a matter of fact, to telephone lines. The philosophical postulate here is that the air is public property and government has custodial responsibilities over that which belongs to the people, who can through their representatives define toxicity as more merely than particulates emitted by asbestos, or whatever. The Communications Decency Act is aimed at protecting children, and prosecutions under it are supposed to bear the burden of proving that the smut-merchants had every reason to believe that children would be tapping in on their product. The lawyers call this *scienter*, knowingly. But the ACLU is correct here that whatever one's hopes for Internet-style V-chips that would block out noxious web sites, there can't be any assurance that the horny 16-year-old isn't going to succeed in tapping in on that stuff.

In which event you may have a law that is unenforceable, but does that make it unconstitutional? □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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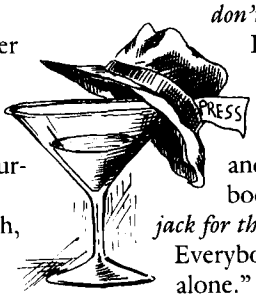
THE GIMLET EYE

JOE BOB BRIGGS

EVER once in a while some photographer or hiker or anthropologist or somebody finds a new "Stone Age tribe" living in Papua/New Guinea or Borneo or the Congo or the Amazon River Basin, and a big article comes out in *Time* magazine and somebody writes a book about how "gentle" and "unspoiled" they are because all they do all day is run around nekkid in a cave.

And then a couple years later some photographer will go back there, and they'll all be wearin Metallica sweatshirts and sellin bootleg videos to tourists.



And everybody goes, "Oh, isn't that *awful*?"

And then the missionaries show up—Babtists and Catholics and those French guys with the funny shirts—and they turn all the Stone Age Nekkid People into Christians, and this makes the anthropologists mad because they think, "You ought to leave em alone," and when you ask em *why* they want us to leave em alone, they say, "So we can *study* them."

And then the tribespeople start buyin Evinrude motors for their canoes, and tradin in their loincloths for Levi's, and basically turnin themselves into Jungle Mall Rats.

And everybody thinks, "This is really disgusting. Modern civilization has *destroyed* these people."

But lemme splain somethin here.

What if the Outer Mongolian Tribespeople *want* Evinrude speedboats? What if they're sick to death of paddlin their canoes all day? What if it's *easier* to buy some cheap denim workshirts from German tourists than to sew banana leaves together?

And I don't much like missionaries either, but I gotta ask: Isn't it the Stone Age people's goldurn *choice* whether they wanna be tree-worshippers or Babtists? What if bein a Babtist makes em *feel better*, because they're switchin over from some religion that's full of fear and revenge and superstition?

In other words, why don't we just let the dang people choose what they want? If Indian tribes in Ecuador wanna drive around the jungle in Toyotas, *that's what they wanna do*.

If African tribes wanna spend all their money on cellular phones so they don't have to use drum signals any more, *I don't blame em*.

If the Stone Age people of Papua/New Guinea wanna charge tourists five bucks to come into the village and look at their Sacred Baboon statue, *let em make a little jack for the public treasury*.

Everybody says, "Leave them alone." But that doesn't mean treat em like they're pets.

The whole international do-gooder "Save the Indians" movement got all upset last year when the U.S. Gummint took out a patent on a human being. It was in Papua/New Guinea, of course, where most of the "untouched" tribes live. And the idea was to take this Haguhai tribesman and use his cells to develop some new medicines.

They kind of *franchised* the guy's genetic material.

And now a *whole* lot of people have their panties in a bunch.

The Rural Advancement Foundation International says this is "another major step down the road to the commodification of life." They wanna file a lawsuit in the World Court challenging the patent issued to the National Institutes of Health.

The governments of Papua/New Guinea and the Solomon Islands are getting involved. The United Nations has been mentioned as a place to bring this up.

And so the first question is: Why would this guy's genes be worth so much trouble in the first place?

Answer: There are only 260 human beans in the Haguhai tribe. And they were totally isolated until 1984, when somebody hacked a trail to their villages and presumably started selling them Jack Daniels, if we can believe the anthropologists.

So a scientist made his way there, took a blood sample and found out they have this unique genetic strain. Pure genetic strains are more and more rare. So you find tribes that have strange reactions to diseases. They might get killed by exposure to the common cold —this is what happened to a lot of the Indians Columbus discovered—but they also might have antibodies that destroy bubonic plague.

SO YOU can see how valuable the DNA material is. You put a little bit in a test tube, mix it this way, shake it up that way, and you could end up with a cure for AIDS.

In the case of patent 5,397,696—the Haguhai guy—the NIH wants to use it to detect "HTLV-1-related retroviruses." They know what they're doing. This scientific team is headed by Nobel Prize winner D. Carleton Gajdusek, and they've done the same thing in other parts of the world.

They drew blood from the inhabitants of Tristan da Cunha, an island in the South Pacific, and sold it to a California company to use in creating an asthma treatment. A German drug company paid $70 million for the rights.

But anthropology professors are *furious*. They don't think scientists should be running around poking needles in the Indians and carrying off blood samples like Indiana Jones. They call this Exploitation and Imperialism.

But you know what they never ask? They never ask whether the Haguhai guy *wanted* to sell his genetic material.

They don't even use his name.

If they really believed that all the peoples of the world have rights, then they would simply go to the guy with a translator and ask him, "Is this the deal you want to make?"

Of course, they might think he's too *stupid* to make this decision.

Wouldn't that be ironic?

Wouldn't that be sort of . . . uh . . . imperialistic?

Because, you see, if they had asked that question before sending out their news releases, they would have found out that the Haguhai get 50 per cent of the drug royalties. Forever.

The Haguhai chief made a deal with the white man. I wouldn't be surprised if he was thinking of putting in a strip shopping center, just to make future white men feel at home. □

Mr. Briggs is a syndicated columnist from Grapevine, Texas.

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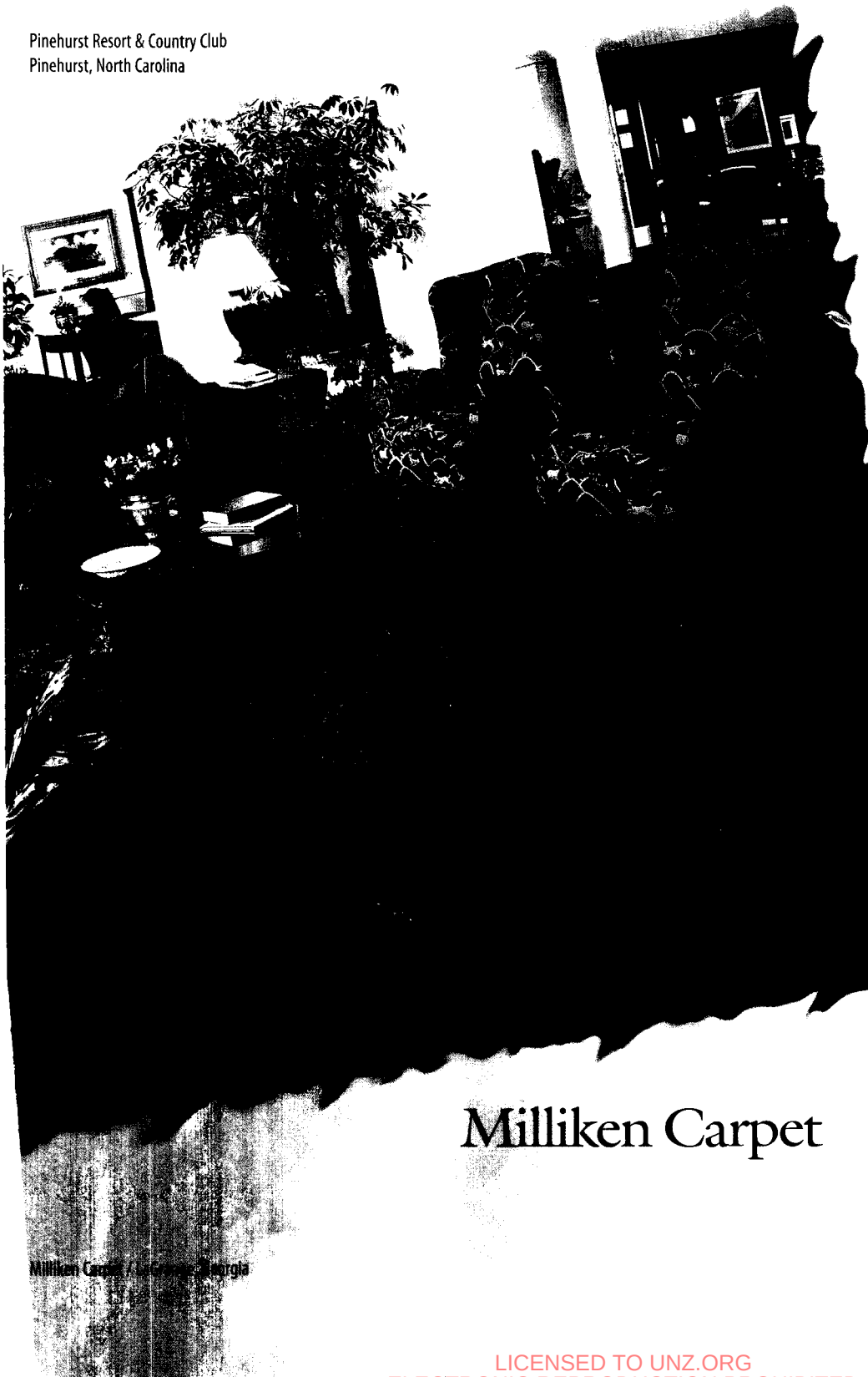
The Artistry of Milliken



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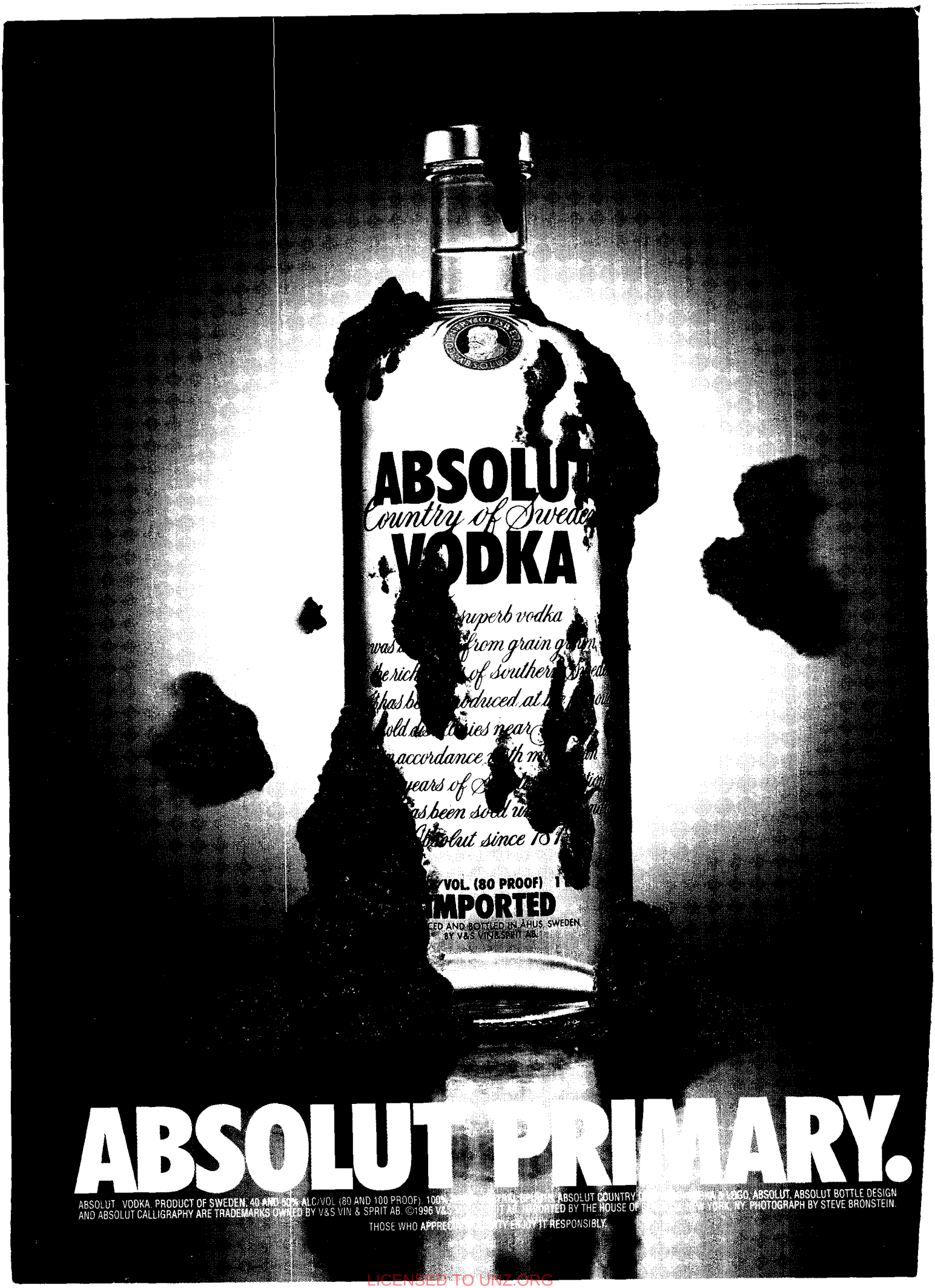

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